DEDICATED TO

THE MAN IN THE FIELD

WHOSE LABOURS FEED ALL MANKIND

AND TO

HIS WIFE

WHO IS BOTH A PART OF HIM

AND THE MOTHER OF INDIA

TOGETHER WITH

THEIR CHILDREN

WHO ARE THE INDIA OF THE FUTURE

EXPERIMENT IN EXTENSION

THE GAON SATHI

COMPILED BY
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INTRODUCTION

THIS book has been prepared by members of the staff of the Extension project being carried on at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute with funds made available by the Ford Foundation. This project has three divisions : (1) a Pilot Extension project in some 400 villages, (2) a training programme for Extension workers, and (3) a division for the production of Extension materials. There are also other training courses at the Agricultural Institute, among them one for Social Education Organizers in the Community Projects Administration or National Extension Service Blocks, to which many States have been sending appointees to be trained in Extension methods and social education.

Thus we at Allahabad are in the middle of the problems of training people for Extension work. Some of those being trained are to be village workers; others are to be administrators. The first impression of the reader may be that these are two distinct functions requiring two separate types of training. The reader may therefore feel that parts of this book are relevant to one of these types of training while other parts are relevant only to the other type. Our conviction and experience, however, are that all types of Extension personnel need training which covers the whole field. Village workers need to understand administrative principles and procedures. Administrators need to understand the everyday problems and procedures of village workers. Already some men who began as village workers in our project have moved into administrative

assignments here and elsewhere. This confirms our conviction.

In this training we need a textbook, but no textbook is available which has grown out of actual Extension experience in India. Many of those who have come here to take our courses and a number of administrators of other projects have urged us to write a textbook on Extension for India. So we have written this one. It is not perfect, but it is a beginning. Those who use it as a textbook for study will find points for class-discussion at the end of the book.

To do a proper job of writing a textbook on Extension, one should visit all of the Extension projects in the country and bring together the experience of all of them. However, we are busy in our own project and do not have the time to do that. The next best method seems to be to write a short, simple textbook and publish it, knowing that it is incomplete and that it will make a number of statements which will be challenged by others. Indeed, in our project we are experimenting with new ideas and methods in an effort to learn from our mistakes. For that reason some of the statements we make in this book must be tentative and suggestive, rather than conclusive. We hope that everyone who disagrees with any point in this book will write to us and state the reasons for his disagreement. We hope that everyone who agrees with a point and knows of a good example which illustrates it well will write and tell us about it. That is the way textbooks grow. If this book can become a basis for discussion and criticism, we or someone else will be in a position to write a much better textbook, or a second edition of this one, one or two years from now.

Shri S. K. Dey, Administrator of the Community Projects Administration, who very kindly read the proof copy of this book, has already pointed out one major difference between Extension as we write about it and the pattern which has evolved in the Community Development Projects and National Extension Service Blocks. The *Gram Sevak* in the C. D. P. and N. E. S. Blocks carries other responsibilities than those assigned to our Gaon Sathi. Both are responsible for the educational aspect of Extension. The *Gram Sevak*, however, is also responsible for the supply of commodities like seed and fertilizer and gives services for which he has been trained, like vaccination and inoculation of animals. We are happy that this experiment, which expands the scope of Extension, is being tried out on a wide scale in India. We believe that it will be out of such varieties of approach that the best pattern of Extension for India will ultimately develop. We have, however, limited our book to a description of Extension as we practise it in the *Jumna-par Punarnirman*, the Allahabad Pilot Extension Project, not because we are under any illusion that it is perfect, or that there may not be other projects much better in this respect or that. But this is the project we know. We think it best to write out of our own experience. We think that this account of purely educational operations, as carried out in our project, with the simultaneous development of local resources and increased use of both government and non-government facilities for supply and services, will make an important contribution toward the formulation of a pattern of Extension best suited to the needs of this country.

COMPANIONSHIP. Extension is education—out of school. The teacher for rural India is the Gaon Sathi, the villagers' companion. He believes in village people, trusts in their judgement, and recognizes that they are ready to take initiative and responsibility for their own welfare.

FAMILIES. Life in rural India still centres round families. Gaon Sathis pay visits to village families whenever they can (*above*). It helps if a Gaon Sathi has his family with him in the village. Then the neighbours will visit the Gaon Sathi couple, who should have a model village home (*below*).

Part One

Extension

I. *WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT*

THE word 'Extension' is much used in India today. Very few people seem to mean quite the same thing when they use it. In this chapter we shall try to make clear what this new word means, with particular reference to the Indian setting in which Extension is beginning to play such an important part.

The word 'Extension' comes to us from abroad. In North America, there were many colleges specializing in agriculture and home economics which were making their information, their teaching and the results of their research available chiefly to their students. Some members of their faculties wanted to go directly to farmers, and many farmers living at some distance from such colleges felt that the faculty of the college should come to them and give them some of the same teaching they were giving to resident students. This was an 'extension' of the regular teaching of colleges of agriculture and home economics to farmers and their families in their fields and homes ; it became known as the 'Extension Service'. It developed into a kind of two-way education as the practical experience and problems of farming people contributed substantially to the progress of agricultural research.

So Extension is, among other things, a means of spreading and enlarging useful knowledge. In both methods and content, the knowledge to be spread will depend upon the needs of the people who are to receive it, and on the institutions of the country where this is to happen. The Scandinavian people have made

great use of the principles of Extension to improve farming, especially with cattle, and to improve the fishing off their coasts. In the early nineteenth century, government land was set aside in the United States to establish 'land-grant' colleges of agriculture, agricultural engineering and home economics ; it was out of these institutions, as we have said, that Extension grew in that country. In Latin America, the stress has been on agriculture alone.

In India, the practical service of Extension which we are building is different from Extension work in other countries. It is being developed to meet the particular needs and to suit the character of our country. Here it would appear that the diffusion of a broader field of knowledge is the need of rural India. But the way this shall be done demands careful study and understanding of the Indian villager, his home and his village. To see exactly what Extension can mean in rural India, we must first have a fresh look at the country and its changing needs. Then we shall be in a better position to give a definition of the word 'Extension'.

I OBSERVATIONS ON RURAL INDIA

Exact knowledge of village India is very scanty. The country is so enormous, and its variations of climate, people and rural customs are so great that a complete picture is probably not likely in our time.

Recognizing that a great deal of careful study remains to be done before accurate generalizations may be drawn about rural life in India, we are, nevertheless, prepared to make some observations about the

typical Indian village and its inhabitants as we know them here in the Indo-Gangetic plain. The Allahabad Agricultural Institute has worked for almost forty years on small-scale Extension with local farmers. It is out of that experience, recently enlarged as we have developed a pilot Extension project in some 400 villages in our vicinity, that we are writing this book.

Indian villagers are not 'backward'

Everyone agrees now that for some centuries life in Indian villages has gone from bad to worse. The decline has not been continuous; there have been periods of vitality and prosperity. But on the whole, villagers have lost status while townsfolk have gained it.

An economist would say that the villagers' standard of living has shown a downward trend ; but this view only touches the material surface of village life. Anthropologists have described the mental condition of some aboriginal people they have studied as a 'loss of nerve'. The term is very apt for large numbers of other village groups as well. Almost any sympathetic person who has lived for a while in some Indian village cannot help feeling that there has been a drift toward an increasing helplessness, which is not due merely to poverty.

There has been a general tendency to be concerned about the 'backwardness' of the Indian village, and to recognize that something must be done quickly to improve conditions of life in the village. A hasty survey of village conditions reveals inadequate diet, a low level of production, insanitation and ill-health, a high rate of illiteracy. Indian peasants have been described as a great mass of people in an unfortunate condition of ineffectiveness, from which they must be raised,

chiefly by their more 'progressive' countrymen. The villager is seen to be a victim of circumstances beyond his control.

One of the unexpected findings of the last three years' experience in Extension which we have had in Allahabad has been the growing realization that we have greatly exaggerated the backwardness of Indian peasants. It is quite possible that Extension may be the key to unlock a great constructive social force, and help prove the wisdom of Gandhiji's foresight in regard to the latent capacities of rural India.

A primary function of Extension, therefore, is to destroy the idea that the villager is a passive victim of circumstances by demonstrating that control of his own circumstances lies primarily with the villager, and that no benevolent efforts by other people to improve his condition can succeed unless the villager's own firm control of the entire situation is established. Extension is a means of establishing the fact with the villager.

In the meantime, the popular picture of the poor villager yearning for 'uplift' still persists. For at least three generations there has been concern over the villager's growing poverty and ignorance, his lethargy and stubborn refusal to accept new ways of life and work, his tendency to rely on superstition and ritual instead of reason. There is truth in this description of village people, but the total picture it gives is very much overdrawn on the dark side. *Yet it is the picture which the villagers have in their own minds. This twisted thinking has adversely affected the villagers' whole attitude to their lives; it is Extension's hardest task to correct these distortions.*

The villager is considered to be ignorant. This is true, in the sense that we are all ignorant in some way or another. We have come to see, however, that the villager's ignorance is both a source of strength and of weakness. It is a source of strength because the villager accepts his ignorance and does not try to bluff out of it. This reveals a deep integrity often missing among more sophisticated people who live in a world where there is much falseness and make-believe. However, ignorance is a villager's weakness because he has also been resigned to continuing in his ignorance. This resignation moves out surely wherever Extension moves in firmly. But, as the villager acquires new knowledge and deeper understanding, he will remain strong if he is never content with the mere pretence of knowledge. Thus, as Extension brings new knowledge into the village, it must also encourage the peasant's natural criticism of untested knowledge which comes from a source outside his checking. This critical sense is a valuable part of his ageless wisdom.

The Turning of the Tide

Very probably the declining status of the Indian villager was partly caused by the long period of foreign rule in India. The actual poor conditions of village life, though they were understood by many persons in the new Indian governments which were formed after the achievement of national independence, could not possibly be corrected by the mere writing of a Constitution for free India. Political freedom could at first only be effective for those Indians of equal calibre who could take over the controls from the British rulers. The work of transferring a share of political power to

village people, as Gandhiji envisioned it to be done, will be a slow process. Extension workers are not directly concerned with this political education of villagers ; this is the job of the political parties. Where self-government is achieving a broader base, however, and executive authority is becoming decentralized (for example, where village *panchayats*[1] are given more extensive powers to control local funds), Extension must prepare the villagers for the responsible exercise of local power. This is one of the educational tasks which Extension must tackle in anticipation of the need in the villages.

It is a matter of history that the mass-support for the final drive toward freedom came from village India. Gandhiji was the first to discern the general demand for change in the minds of the villagers. An immediate emotional force was released by the rural campaigns which accompanied political agitation in the towns. We may see this now as the healthy reaction of a great body of people, made suddenly aware of its sickness, but with only the vaguest idea of the cause. Apart from the political climate and the tensions set up by the accident of war, the time was ripe for the rural movement. As the standards of living in the village sank lower, and the contacts of villagers and townsfolk became, at the same time, easier and more frequent, it was inevitable that villagers should see quite clearly their own poor and worsening state.

It was in the last phase of the village-based struggle for national freedom that Gandhiji's genius was most clearly manifested. He gave the villagers a special kind

[1] Brief explanations of Indian words and phrases used in this book are given in the Glossary.

of self-confidence, by himself living in complete simplicity, much as villagers themselves live. He treated all those villagers he met as persons, not as units from a lower order of society; this fresh, human attitude became a legend which ran like wildfire through village India. Hard though it is to believe, it is a fact that one man turned the tide in village hearts from a despondent ebb to a slow flood of fresh self-confidence.

Therefore, when political power fell into the hands of those who were known to be Gandhiji's close colleagues, the villagers felt that they were at last supported by people who understood them a little. They felt at least free to assert their needs. Sometimes the assertions seemed to exceed the exertions which must be made if village life is to improve; it has required an Extension service to set villagers' efforts into effective channels of exertion.

Villagers' Desire for Change

When the Allahabad Pilot Project began in the spring of 1952, everyone outside the villages knew that change was sweeping over the whole world, and that it must soon involve every peasant in India. We were not at all sure to what extent the Jumna-par[1] villagers would realize the inevitability of change, nor how they would react to change, having accepted its arrival. We had an idea that the villagers might very well resist all changes, just because of a conviction that any change would be another form of uncomfortable pressure from outside.

[1] The Jumna-par is the local name for the area in which the Allahabad Project works. This area is within a loop of the River Jumna, just south of its confluence with the Ganges, and on the Jumna's right bank.

We had the answer from these 400 villages within six months. Change was seen by the people as a welcome fact, to be turned into a means of improving their lives. They welcomed Extension almost from its very first weeks among them, as a means of learning how they could control changes for themselves, through wider and deeper knowledge of their own resources and other resources readily available to them. What surprised us most of all was that the impending changes, and even the brand new opportunities to learn, were seen by these villagers as *so many opportunities to rebuild their lives within the village, and not as a chance to leave village life for a different kind of life in another place*, like the great urban and industrial areas of India.

All the previous experience at our command had suggested that in rural India those individuals who recognize a disturbance in their habits of generations' standing nearly always want to leave the village and start again elsewhere, either in a town, an industrial settlement, or a canal colony. This time experience proved wrong; reconstruction of Jumna-par village life was seen by capable villagers to be possible and preferable.

This personal and local report is made in order to witness to our own ignorance of how villagers, whom we thought we knew well, would act in a fresh situation. One lesson is clear: Extension workers must be prepared to learn at least as much from villagers as they can teach them.

In this area, then, there is no doubt about the awakening of a new spirit. This spirit of adventure within the village is new; it is continuing to be

expressed in several forms by villagers of the Jumnapar area. We may take one instance out of many. A young man who is the son of a prosperous farmer in one of the remoter villages has been educated through the Intermediate standard in agriculture. He could go on for his B.Sc. in Agriculture, but he is anxious to do something specifically to help forward the changes which he sees as necessary in his own and in nearby villages. There is no question of the young man's ability to graduate; and if he does, there are plenty of well-paid jobs open to him.

Our experience suggests that this young villager, having emerged from his limited village world through his education, would naturally desire to go ahead and use his exceptional knowledge elsewhere. Yet he wants to cut short his academic education and to join our Project as a village worker, serving his village. Our rule against employing persons to work in their own native areas does not make this possible. He does not want to work elsewhere and persists in his desire to work in his own village and in those neighbour to it. This is free choice on the young man's part; it is adventure turned inward on his own countryside. He will probably continue to act as an unpaid associate of a Gaon Sathi[1] within whose assignment his village lies.

This boy's reaction to his talent and good fortune would be unthinkable if there were no Extension project to make a channel through which his knowledge and enthusiasm can flow. Without the project for a channel, he would have no alternative but to seek work elsewhere or to stay and work along with his

[1] See Glossary and Chapter VI, Part A.

father's methods of farming which the boy now believes are out-dated and insufficiently productive.

Evidence of Changes

What evidence do we have that changes have taken place, and are about to take place? For one thing, it is clear that village people are rediscovering their own strengths. These do not consist only in the powers of the human spirit, which have lain dormant for many generations. There is also a rising confidence among villagers in their own practical abilities to undertake the new tasks which they choose. This pragmatic self-confidence is probably not new; it must have been one of the stronger elements which made possible the protective self-isolation of villages in the past. It is, however, being applied now in ways which are quite new to this generation of villagers.

What is newest of all is the open expression of self-confidence by far greater numbers of villagers, including women. This is most clearly seen in their present willingness to ask for advice and to expect services from non-villagers. The requests come more and more in a form which shows that the villagers do not expect all the work to be done for them. They are genuinely anxious to bear their share of the new task or enterprise. There was formerly a tendency for social welfare projects, such as cleaning out a well, to be accepted by a village mainly in the hope that the material and equipment would be paid for by the outsider who made the proposition. In fact, the acceptance of such a proposal was usually hedged with intrigue to make sure that the outside benefactor would also pay village labour at good wages. Villagers

now definitely expect to contribute goods and services at their own cost; naturally they are happy if any special equipment is loaned to them.

Again villagers used to have a certain fear of asking anyone outside the village for help. In many circumstances, it was felt by villagers that to be under an obligation to an outsider, especially a Government representative, would result in more unwelcome demands on the village or its people in due course. This fear is dying out.

The material side of village resources is now being strengthened by a still-improving string of Government organizations, which form a major part of the supply line to villages.[1] This is another evidence of the constructive changes now taking place. In agriculture, there are seed-stores and plant protection services; in animal husbandry, itinerant stockmen, with vaccines against such scourges as haemorrhagic septicaemia; in public health there are dispensaries, hospitals and vaccinators. It is now also possible to get technical advice on wells and sanitary arrangements. There are more and better schools.

There has been an improvement in law and order, once a touchy subject in any village. In some parts, where villagers are willing, the old system of night-watch has been revived, reducing the expense of maintaining a police force and providing a much more effective deterrent against dacoity. Villages have more and better roads, more culverts, bridges, buses, cycles, train-services, post-offices and telegraph stations. Rural credit and co-operative organizations are spreading.

[1] See Chapter VI, Part F.

II THE CONTRIBUTION OF EXTENSION

Extension is a newcomer in India. It has arrived at a time when great changes are taking place. What can Extension offer towards solving the problems of India? How will Extension, as it has developed abroad, have to be modified to fit into rural India?

Extension faces special conditions and problems in India which are not to be found in precisely the same form anywhere else in the world. In a sense it faces a larger task than has been undertaken by Extension services in other countries, and it is becoming apparent that more techniques will be needed in Extension for rural India than have ever been needed in the Americas or in Europe.

Four of these problems peculiar to India may be mentioned:

1. Rural India lives in a firmly-established network of culture patterns which are radically different from the cultures of the people among whom Extension has been developed. In those foreign cultures, everyone accepts inductive reasoning, particularly when associated with experiments, as the source of authority. Such thinking is totally strange to any culture in rural India. Yet it is the knowledge which comes from these foreign cultures which forms most of the subject-matter for Extension in rural India.

2. There are no practical means of satisfying all the needs of rural India within any reasonable time, if those needs are to be based, through a cultural revolution, upon the different values of a foreign culture which has been profoundly influenced by scientific discovery and technique.

3. There are two Indias, with a sharp division between the cultures of each ; these are the India of the villages and the India of the towns. In the latter, most of the values of a foreign culture influenced by science have been at least superficially accepted to a degree sufficient to start a chaos of conflicts, in which adjustment to a steady way of life is as yet hard to discern. This destructive phase of the mixing of cultures has not arrived yet in most of village India. It need never come if the Extension Service develops fast enough to build bulwarks against it within the minds of enough villagers.

4. India of the towns is rapidly coming to equal terms with the 'progressive' civilizations of the West. Though the internal adjustments are painful, in many instances, an equality with differences is already achieved politically, in the spheres of business, art and the professions. There is some lag in establishing parity within the techniques of industry, and in the economic and other conditions of both labour and 'white-collar' workers.

Village India is not yet in sight of equality with the West. In almost every human activity, rural India is still inferior to the rest of the world. Villagers in India are becoming acutely conscious of that inferiority. The reduction of rural India to terms of such inequality with the West does not, however, apply in one sphere of human life. Within the fields of deep-rooted religion and of the human relationships which are secured to that fundamental fact of human experience, village India is probably superior to the Western civilizations.

Internal reconstruction through Extension. Thus it follows that Extension is to assist at the birth of a new

life for Indian villages, in which much that is old will remain alive and vital. Because the culture-patterns of Indian village life give village people great mental security, they must not be endangered. They have values which will foster a new, combined culture now coming to life. This does not mean that the old, traditional society can be restored, as Gandhiji hoped it would, for villages cannot be self-sufficient. They will have to draw much of their needs from industries; their health and education may have to be served for long years by non-villagers. Yet, in exchange, through the two-way channels of Extension, villagers will make their contributions to the outside world, for village people can share with the rest of the world their skill in living peaceably together with a basic care for other human beings. The outside world needs the special genius for humanity which Indian villagers possess just as much as villagers need the technical services of others. For this reason, Extension in India will have to be a two-way channel of education even more than in other countries.

Extension in India has first to create a demand for its services. Extension in the United States of America started as a result of a demand made by a few farmers for help from agricultural colleges and allied institutions outside rural areas. This help was brought to them by trained experts who lived in towns or cities who were able to offer their services to farmers on farms scattered over a wide area. In India, we have to work for years before we can expect to have large numbers of farmers, craftsmen or housewives capable of making such a demand on visiting Extension agents. Our

Extension workers, for sound psychological as well as geographical reasons, must for many years to come be resident in the villages. It will be a long time before the situation here will develop to the point where the Extension worker will be able to live in an urban or educational centre, returning as a helper from time to time upon the call of the villagers for specialized assistance.

Subjects in which villagers may demand Extension services. Extension in India will differ from that in other countries in one other important respect: it must be prepared to deal with a larger variety of subjects and problems than Extension has normally dealt with in other countries.

It is not possible to make a full list of these subjects, because we do not yet know enough about what villagers want, and it is their wants which in the final analysis will be the deciding factor. Here, however, is a list, in alphabetical order, of some of the significant subjects in which Indian Extension services will be involved:

ADULT LITERACY
AGRICULTURE – including SOIL CONSERVATION, AFFORESTATION and HORTICULTURE
ANIMAL HUSBANDRY – including POULTRY-KEEPING and FISH CULTIVATION for inland waters
CO-OPERATIVES – for specific action programmes besides Credit Co-operatives (See Rural Credit)
EDUCATION OF CHILDREN
FISHING – both deep-sea and fresh-water
GAMES, SPORTS, DRAMA, FOLK-DANCING, MUSIC and POETRY

HEALTH and PUBLIC HEALTH – with special emphasis on self-care
HOME ECONOMICS – including nutrition
MARKETING OF PRODUCE – including Co-operatives
MATERNITY AND CHILD CARE
RURAL CREDIT – Extension cannot promote organizations for credit or co-operative functions of any kind. It can only teach about them.
RURAL ENGINEERING – including building, road-construction, and irrigation
SANITATION
VILLAGE CRAFTS and SMALL-SCALE INDUSTRIES

III A DEFINITION OF EXTENSION IN INDIA

In the foregoing pages we have tried to sketch briefly the setting of rural India in which an Extension service is needed. We have touched upon the awakening desire for change toward a new and better life among the village people in India. We have seen some of the obstacles in the way, as well as some of the resources which will help to bring about the changes which rural India wants. We have said that Extension has a tremendous role to play in bringing to birth a new life for India.

We are ready now to define the word which we have been discussing.

'Extension is Education'

The truth of this simple statement, which can cover the whole task of Extension in India if one takes education seriously enough, is liable to be vitiated by the traditional attitude towards education. Traditional

education is just that : it hands on traditions, customs, habits, from one generation to another with little or no modification. This will not do in Extension, which must establish a critical appreciation of knowledge as the very root of educational practice.

Extension then is education –

(1) education of rural adults, and of children outside the school, in matters of their own choice and interest ;

(2) education for freedom which seeks to help persons to use the liberty of action with which a democratic society is constructed.

The first aim of the Extension Service is to provide villagers with knowledge which will make their lives more satisfactory to them. It attempts to communicate successfully information and ideas which can be immediately understood, accepted and applied by villagers to alleviate some hardship of which they are conscious.

Thereafter, Extension stimulates the demand for more knowledge and information, endeavouring to overcome obstacles which hinder villagers from desiring or accepting new ways and new knowledge at any level.

Extension recognizes that each person must be helped to develop his capacity to make free choices and responsible decisions. The Extension worker does not impose his ideas upon those whom he is trying to help, nor does he regiment their activities to conform only with his desires and designs. He sees that village people have valid experiences and practical knowledge which can contribute greatly toward achieving the goals of increased production and healthier living ; thus his

method of teaching allows the maximum co-operation in which the 'teacher' and the 'pupil' easily exchange places.

Extension is then a means of rural development whereby the Extension worker brings to rural people knowledge and information related to their problems, gained as a result of research and experiment in classroom, laboratory and workshop. He interprets this knowledge and information in terms that are simple and easily understandable, and he takes back to the centre for research and solution those problems that are faced by village people. Extension is a two-way channel in which the Extension worker interprets both to the villager and to the expert at the research centre information and knowledge useful and related to problems in the field.

II. THE MEANS TO AN END

EVERYONE agrees that rural India has two pressing needs: (a) a higher standard of living, and (b) more and improved education.

In the preceding chapter, we have seen that village people have ample resources in themselves and in their surroundings to achieve a better life than they have known. The great problem of rural development in India today, as we shall see as we enlarge our understanding of Extension, is that of giving helpful companionship to rural people as they learn to use these resources. We recognize that this is a problem of education, although not education in the traditional sense.

Education in a free, progressive society must be different from education in a traditional, static society. It has been pointed out that in the old, traditional India education served its purpose if it passed on to each new generation the skills and customs of its fathers. Nothing new was necessary beyond the slow gathering of experience by each successive generation. In the new, progressive India something different is required. What is needed is the kind of education which brings out the best possibilities and creative capacities of each person.

Education, as we think of it in Extension, must help people to *think*, to *consider alternatives*, to *forge new tools*, and to *build a new society*. Education ought not merely to fill the young with the ideas of the old. It should prepare everyone for a life of decision and responsibility.

This leads us to underscore two important points which must be taken into account.

(1) The first is the point of view that the primary purpose of an Extension programme is to increase agricultural production. This is a very common point of view. India needs more food. The cheapest way to get more food is to grow it. The cheapest way to get more abundant food at low prices for people of the cities is to increase agricultural production within India. Not only improvements in agriculture, but most of the nation-building activities of the Government of India and of the Governments of the States depend on increasing revenue, which can only come out of increased production. All of these facts emphasize the great need at the present time for increased agricultural production in this country, and many people, therefore, conclude that the chief purpose of agricultural Extension is to meet this need.

(2) The second fact that we must consider is that in any programme of education, it is imperative that a way be found to catch and hold the interest and the attention of those for whom the programme is intended. A schoolboy who continually watches the birds outside the window cannot learn from his books. A farmer who does not become interested in an Adult Education programme does not learn from it. Getting and holding interest is of primary importance.

Different kinds of activity hold the interest of people at different ages. Small children are interested in play and make-believe. They learn a great deal while playing. This is why nursery schools allow children to play freely with minimum interference and discipline from older people. It is the best kind of

education for them, and it has been traditional in India.

During the school years, the attention of students needs to be fixed on lessons in arithmetic, history, geography, and so forth, by arranging the students in class-rooms where their attention is not distracted by outside noises or by what is going on out-of-doors. It helps hold attention when they have textbooks to read and when the teacher finds ways to discuss each subject in ways which arouse the interest of the students. It helps still more when the teacher devises projects such as building a model of a house, or playing at operating a shop, or planning an imaginary tour of India. 'Learning by doing', even pretending to do, stimulates interest, relates 'lessons' to life, and helps the learner to remember what he has learned.

In the education of adults, it is just as necessary to secure interested attention, just as necessary to make the learning process lively and vital, related closely to the needs and desires of grown people. It has been found that activities which are most interesting to village adults are:

(1) those related to the occupation by which they earn their livelihood,

(2) the activities of their homes,

(3) songs, drama, and other forms of village recreation and entertainment.

In these, the whole culture of the people, social, moral and religious, is imbedded.

People are interested in these subjects. Therefore it is easy for them to learn when they study, discuss or participate in them. To help a farmer learn the advantages of a fertilizer is easy, since he is interested

in crop yields. To try to interest him in history or in political science would be far more difficult. Good education discovers interests; the use of song and drama heightens interest and places learning within the enjoyable warmth of the learner's whole life. Good education for village people must involve their emotions and relate new ideas and understanding to the villagers' deep sense of tradition.

Now let us restate the points that are being made, in this order:

(1) The great need of rural India today is good education. This must include education in making choices, education in recognizing and using resources and education in taking responsibility.

(2) Ways must be found to interest village people in these new purposes of education. Since village people are always interested in problems of their livelihood (chiefly agriculture) and of their homes, and in keeping physically well, the best kind of education through which to guide them into responsible freedom is an Extension programme in Agriculture, Home Economics and Health.

(3) Fortunately, this kind of programme for adults is exactly the same educational programme which is needed to increase agricultural production and to improve the general condition of the people of the villages. The coincidence of the development of an educational method which can effectively bring solutions to India's most pressing rural problems at a time when people are eagerly seeking solutions makes it impossible to overestimate the importance of Extension.

In view of what we have just said, we must keep the educational character of Extension uppermost.

We must never use a method which is not good education. We must never coerce. We must never try to get results by offering inducements of any kind. We must never order people to do anything even for their own welfare, for to do so would be to relieve them of the necessity of making free choices. Rather, we must make them aware of alternatives. We must help them realize that they are in a position to choose, and have the capacity to choose intelligently. We must stand by them, showing our confidence in them, whether they succeed or fail and have to try again.

One might say that an Extension programme can be the university of the villages. When we say this, we do not have in mind anything of the academic formality of a university with all its consciousness of the prestige of degrees and status. We mean that Extension can bring to rural people, who may not even have attended primary school, something of the training which it is usually the function of a university to impart. This is the development of the ability to think and to think *critically*, both about their ancient tradition and about their new experiences. It is practice in using new methods and learning where information is available for the solution of many of the problems which they face. Extension encourages the attitude which says, 'We can do this with resources we have used before, but there must be better resources somewhere; let us look for them.' Extension does not pretend to know all the answers, but it develops, both in the Extension worker and in the villager, both the willingness to admit ignorance and the conviction that answers to questions can be found.

III. WHAT EXTENSION CANNOT DO

In our enthusiasm, it is easy to give the impression that Extension is a panacea for all of India's ills. This it cannot be, for education (and this is what Extension fundamentally is) is not enough to bring about the full development of rural India. There are many other needs which call for other programmes. These other programmes are the responsibility of other agencies. They are of great importance in themselves, but they are not Extension. With respect to them Extension has only the responsibility of informing rural people about them and encouraging villagers to make full use of them.

I RURAL DEVELOPMENT BY OTHER AGENCIES

The Five Year Plan recognizes the vast complexity of the problem of Indian development as a whole and with respect to its many component parts. The Plan understands that no one scheme or programme by itself can achieve the goal of a new and more abundant life for India's millions. As part of the whole, Extension is given its proper importance in rural development. Other schemes and programmes have their place.

A. Public Works

Already considerable progress is being made in building new roads, erecting schools and dispensaries, in providing new facilities for irrigation. The First Five Year Plan makes very wise provision for these

necessities for village development and the Second Five Year Plan promises to put even more emphasis upon small-scale efforts which bring immediate aid to the farmer. It is important for us to realize that while Extension is primarily concerned with changes which village people can bring about by their own decisions and within the limits of their own resources, many public works demand capital and planning far beyond the power of individual persons or even of whole groups of villages. Sometimes an Extension service arouses people to contribute their own capital and labour for the construction of a new school or library. For the most part, however, the provision of public works must be a function of the State Governments and of the Government of India.

B. Political Development

As village people progress—and in order that they may progress—the political arrangements for local self-government and for the maintenance of law and order must become increasingly more adequate. Extension of the type which awakens rural people to their responsibilities can play an important part in teaching democratic procedure and in preparing people for broader political participation. But Extension must itself remain non-political. It may stimulate discussion of local problems, but it must not enter into State or national political issues or into election campaigns.

It is the State which must set the pattern for political institutions. These institutions will be strengthened—and modified—by use. It is the responsibility of the State to provide a framework in which the will of the people can be active. It is the function of

political parties to give voice and direction to the people's will. By encouraging full and proper use of the *panchayat*, the District Board, and other forms of political self-expression along constitutional lines, an Extension worker will be strengthening the political structure of the village, while he himself remains completely non-partisan. This non-partisan character must be maintained whether the Extension programme is operated by the Government or by a non-official agency.

C. Trade and Credit

When village people respond to an Extension programme which has helped them learn how malaria can be controlled, they cannot put this new knowledge into practice without adequate supplies of medicines and of insecticides. If these are to be made available, the channels of trade must improve. When farmers decide to use improved seed, there must be shops or seed-stores from which this new seed can be obtained. When they want to control rodents, they need chemicals. When they want to adopt improved implements, there must be a place where they can go and buy them.

Making available the materials necessary for better village living is a responsibility of manufacturing and commerce. A successful Extension programme will greatly increase the demand for such goods, but it cannot become an agency for providing them without corrupting its educational nature. It is far better that these new needs be supplied through regular channels of trade. These channels are not nearly sufficient at the present time. What an Extension service *can* do in this direction is to work with village shopkeepers and city suppliers, urging them to stock regularly the

items in new demand by village people. We shall have more to say on this subject in a later chapter.

Similarly, credit is necessary to improve agriculture, particularly where there is as little margin for saving as there is in the village today. Here, again, Extension increases the need for a facility which it cannot itself supply. If the Extension service were to become partly a banking system, the Extension worker would lose his position as a friend and companion because of the regulatory function which he would have to undertake. So credit, like the provision of materials, must be left to agencies other than the Extension organization.

D. School and College Education

Extension is out-of-school education for village people. The fact that it is of great importance does not change the other facts, (1) that primary and secondary schools are needed in the villages in increasing numbers, and (2) that the Extension service itself must draw its personnel from among persons who have been educated in first-class colleges and universities and who have learned some practical skills. Yet the provision of primary and secondary schools, colleges and universities is not the responsibility of Extension. Again, Extension will increase the demand for them but it is up to other agencies of the Government or of private groups to provide them.

II HOW EXTENSION CAN BE RELATED TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In the countries where Extension first developed, adequate agencies already existed to do what Extension

cannot do. Some States in the West already had adequate departments of public works, reasonably good political institutions, sound and responsible channels of trade and sources of credit. In some rural areas, particularly in the United States, there were free elementary schools to make it possible for practically every child to receive a basic education. University education, while not within the economic reach and interest of the majority, nevertheless was widespread. Therefore, the idea of combining all of these functions in one comprehensive Rural Development programme under a single administration did not arise.[1]

But in India, two considerations have led to many attempts to combine or integrate all of these into one, thereby endangering the effectiveness of Extension. One of these is the necessity of reforming and greatly expanding the existing rural facilities for public works, trade, credit and state rural services for the over-all control of diseases—especially epidemics—among human beings, livestock and plants. The other is financial stringency which makes the creation of a single staff of 'multi-purpose' village workers look attractive. Both of these considerations reflect real needs and it is always good to try to co-ordinate related programmes. The problem is to meet these needs without seriously impairing the efficiency of any phase of the total programme.

How can Extension be related to the other phases of rural development, while retaining its distinctive

[1] Except in the matter of credit. Much later, a programme of 'supervised agricultural credit' did emerge, containing many characteristics of an Extension programme, but that is too long a story to tell here. The Farm Security Administration in the U.S.A. was an example of this combination.

quality as education? This can be answered by the answer to another question: On what does the distinctive educational quality of Extension depend? It depends upon two factors:

(1) The distinctive educational quality of Extension depends on the way the village worker defines his task and the way he does his work.

(2) The distinctive educational quality of Extension depends upon the Extension worker being a friend and teacher *without any responsibilities of a business or regulatory nature.*

The first of these factors is the subject of the remainder of this book. The second provides the key to the problem of how Extension can be related to other aspects of rural development: *it is at the village level that the educational function of the Extension staff must be kept pure.*

This is the minimum need, with a separate administrative staff up to a District Extension Officer who himself has nothing to do with supply, construction, credit, or service functions—except as a member, but not chairman, of a district committee.

It is better if Extension is separately organized and administered right up to the State level, but if, for other reasons, it is decided that there must be administrative integration at the district level, then Extension must at least have autonomy and a separate staff from that point out into the village.

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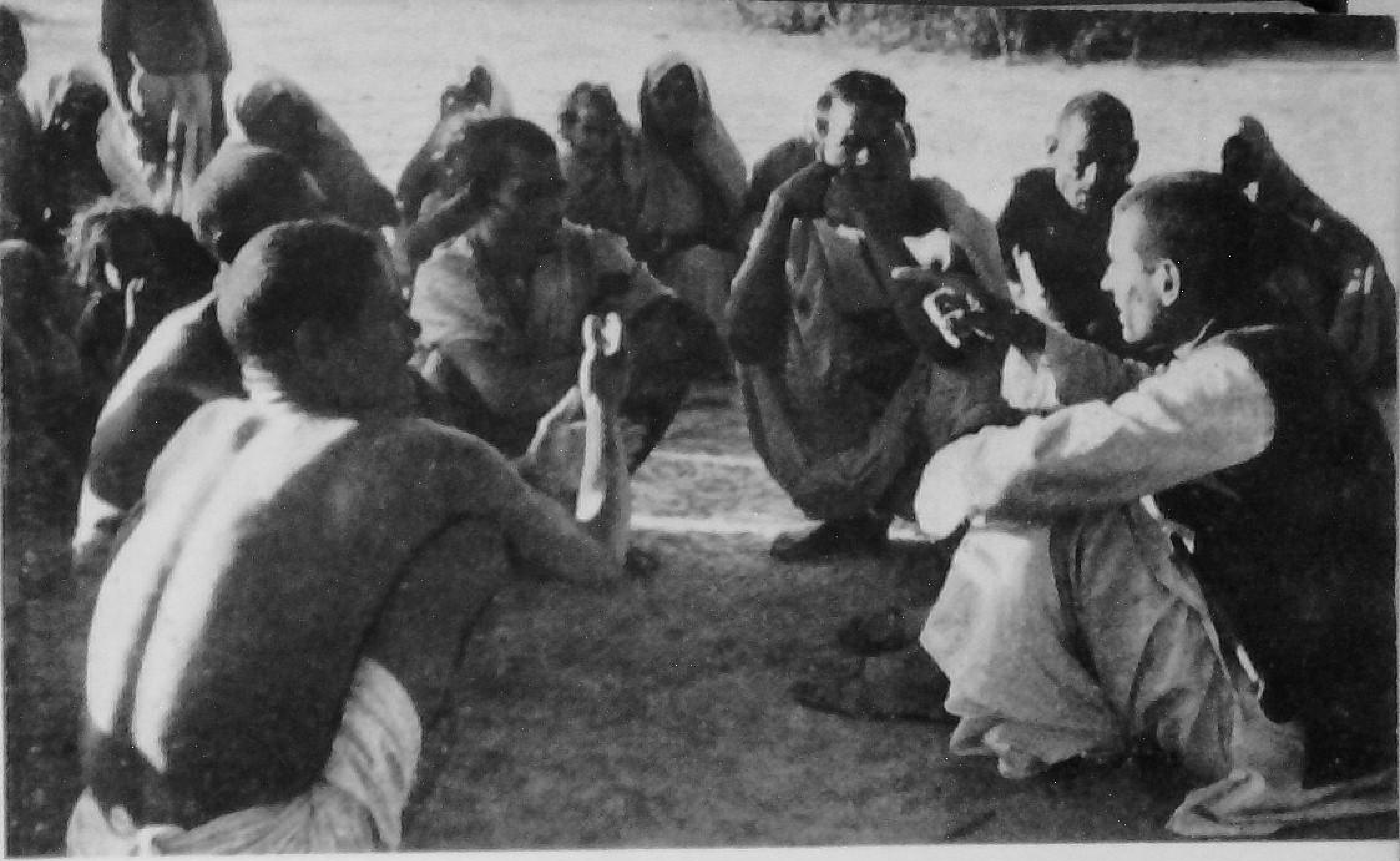


GROUPS. People make changes more quickly in groups. Men naturally form discussion-groups, while village women group more easily round a new skill, like knitting. Gaon Sathi couples reach their different groups together, by cycle (*right*).

INTERESTS. The concerns of village people at all levels, of all ages, must be helped by Extension. The Gaon Sathi must 'have a way with' children. He must also talk to farmers about things they understand better than he does, just as the Gaon Sathi below, with his handful of better seed.

Part Two

The Basic Elements of Extension

In the first part of this book, we were concerned with a definition of Extension in relationship to the Indian setting in which it is taking shape. We have attempted to indicate both its potentialities in the face of the urgent need for a solution to the problems of rural life in this country, and its limitations as only one of many efforts toward rural development.

We come now to discuss the organization, methods and the specific programme of an Extension service; these matters will occupy the balance of this book. We want to base our discussion on actual experience to date in India, including only those principles and practices which have been tested and which have appeared to be sound. There seem to be five basic elements of a successful Extension programme. These are :

i. A faith about people
ii. A sense of vocation
iii. Appropriate organization and operation
iv. Sound methods and materials, and
v. Adequate background knowledge.

Our purpose in this second part of our book is to bring all of these basic elements together, discussing

them at sufficient length to illustrate the importance of each and to demonstrate how they fit together. An adequate discussion of some of them, particularly the third and fourth, would require much more detailed attention than can be given in this book.

IV. EACH FOR ALL

The first of the five basic elements of Extension:

A FAITH IN PEOPLE

THE great mass of the Indian people responded to Gandhiji because they knew he believed in them. His faith in them released great reservoirs of self-confidence and enthusiasm which swept the country and made the dream of national independence a reality. A successful Extension programme is completely impossible unless those who participate in it honestly believe in people and are convinced that there are latent powers of the human spirit to be given expression. In Extension, we are concerned particularly with faith in three groups :

1. A faith in village people
2. A faith in village Extension workers
3. A faith in the whole Extension staff.

1. A FAITH IN VILLAGE PEOPLE

The principles of sound Extension organization and method are based on the confidence that rural people have enormous resources within themselves to solve their own problems. These principles assume that rural people who have information about alternative choices will show good judgement. They take it for granted that village people are competent to help plan Extension programmes. They are based on a confidence that people can take responsibility for their own welfare and that they will do this when they realize that the opportunity has arrived.

Our experience to date indicates that this confidence in village people is justified. Our Gaon Sathis report instance after instance in which village people have not only responded to a suggestion which they could see was in their interest, but have gone on to initiate other efforts beyond anyone's expectations. Of course, they make mistakes, as everyone does, but they know that their own Gaon Sathi has faith in them, that he believes that they are wise, and that he will stand by them even when they have made mistakes. They respond with a readiness to take initiative and responsibility and a willingness to experiment that has surprised us all. In former days, if a village well needed repair or cleaning, the tendency was to 'wait and see' if some agency or government service might not come along and do the job. Today, village people recognize their own responsibility and spend their own time and money in attending to the need. Farmers who have been convinced of the advantage of line-sowing, or green manuring, move rapidly on toward other improvements, often without any urging from a Gaon Sathi.

In the initial stages of the Jumna-par Punarnirman, this faith in village people was based on the *hope* that they would measure up to it. Now, more than three years later, our faith in village people is based on the *knowledge* that they are capable and responsive.

2. A FAITH IN VILLAGE EXTENSION WORKERS

A successful Extension programme depends upon faith in village people. It equally depends upon faith in village Extension workers, whom, in Jumna-par Punarnirman, we call our Gaon Sathis.

There are other Extension projects which seem to be based on a threefold theory which differs from our own ; it holds :

(1) that village people have to be told what to do ;
(2) that they need to be told by village workers who are just a bit beyond them in education but who themselves do not have the ability or the background to help decide what the programme should be ; and
(3) that these village workers must be directed by administrators and specialists who do know what village people ought to do and how village workers should present the programme to them.

This theory is mistaken on all three points. First, it is mistaken in its great underestimation of village people.

Secondly, it is mistaken about the kind of person who makes the best village worker. No *amount* of education is too much for a Gaon Sathi although some *kinds* are wrong. He needs education pertinent to his special task. When this is the nature of his education, the more he knows the better, provided that he recognizes that this knowledge of his is not superior to, but only different from, that of village people. If he recognizes that they have abilities different from his own (and that administrators have abilities different from, but not superior to his) then the broader his knowledge the better.

Thirdly, there are two fallacies in the theory that administrators should tell village workers what to do. One of these is that administrators are nearly always in a weaker position than village workers to know what ought to be done. They are inclined to be guided by a written outline more than by the logic of the emotions and experiences of the villager. The very processes by

which administrators have secured more education and wider experience have often isolated them from the life and feelings of village people.

The other fallacy is the mistaken belief that village workers will accomplish more when directed than when set free to work on their own initiative. Put a good village worker under a dictatorial director and he will probably do what he is told, but no more. Set a village worker free, as the colleague of an administrator who is there not to direct him but to help him do his work—an administrator who knows his own limitations and who will stand by his village workers even when they make mistakes—and there is liberated within the project the full wisdom, energy and enthusiasm of every village worker on the staff.

3. A FAITH IN THE WHOLE EXTENSION STAFF

While faith in village workers is of particular importance, a good Extension project also needs great faith in each other by all members of the staff, whether they do their work in the village or at headquarters. Village workers are up in the firing line, so to speak, but they are weak and ineffective unless they are backed up and served by adequate headquarters personnel. The editor of the project newspaper, the manager of the distribution of visual aids, the organizers of *melas* and short training courses, and all other headquarters staff are equally important to the successful achievement of the project's purposes. The efficiency of the village workers depends to a great extent upon their work. So mutual confidence, and a recognition of what each member of the team contributes, are important factors in the programme.

V. A JOB WITH AN IDEAL

The second of the five basic elements of Extension:

A SENSE OF VOCATION

In any kind of work, one of the hardest things to foresee is what is going to give it motive power. Both original impulse and continuing, even increasing drive are necessary. Without a passion for the idea of mechanical transport, men could never have built up the complexity of automobile factories. The pioneers of this industry have nearly always been small men who started with something like repairing bicycles, and who have spent all of their savings and leisure on the big idea. This is vocation. A man has a sense of vocation when his job is more than a means of earning his livelihood, when his work is illumined and motivated by an ideal.

A. HOW A NEW FIELD OF WORK COMES INTO BEING

Sooner or later, the original experimenter with a new kind of work begins to inspire others. The enthusiasm of a few becomes the enthusiasm of many, and the number of people with a specific vocation grows. The pattern of the work itself grows in detail, and the ideal takes form and shape in methods and techniques.

The national independence movement in India would never have called in hundreds of thousands of persons who dedicated their lives to the cause if it had not been for the clear vocation of the few, in the beginning. It was these primary examples of devotion to an ideal, this selfless living of their principles, which

the lower grades of Extension, is not at present attractive; but to increase it would not secure the right kind of recruit. At the upper levels, the prestige factor probably has more influence. Even were this increased by elaborate Public Relations or publicity campaigns, still the right type of person would not be thereby drawn into Extension work.

Again, at the higher levels the usual qualifications considered, especially in Government service, where a new and problematical job has to be done, will not secure the right type of person. Such qualities as high organizing ability, outstanding energy, administrative skill, and inter-service diplomacy are all assets; but they do not add up to the complete picture of a good Extension professional; and no amount of specialized training, at any age, will make up for the missing factor—this elusive *vocation*.

As has been suggested in connexion with Group 1 above, our experience at Allahabad indicates that the 'constructive worker' in the Gandhian discipline proves excellent in service alongside the more technically educated types of recruit. But there has been a tendency to accept the mantle of the Gandhian disciple as direct evidence of the pure vocation for village work. This is not necessarily the fact. A man or woman with a fine record of self-sacrifice in the national struggle, in social welfare work, and in submission to the finest principles of non-violent action is not, by these distinctions, thereby guaranteed to have a vocation for a lifetime career as an Extension worker.

It seems probable that persons who have had the type of experience just described will need to examine their vocation all the more searchingly. Fortunately,

crop of people with a deep sense of vocation. It is at the stage when there are a large number of persons with a vocation for an ideal that the work of realizing the ideal becomes established as a profession. Extension in India is already at that stage.

B. HOW A NEW KIND OF WORK IS ESTABLISHED AS A PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Two conditions must be fulfilled to start a new service of any kind :

1. *A recognition that it is now necessary.* This may be no more than the intellectual conviction of a few persons, sometimes only those in positions of power. The conviction may be wider or deeper, shared by many who see both the problem and the way to solve it.
2. *Enough of the right kind of people to do the job.* It is certain that the adventure of flight had to appeal to enough men whose individual urge was enough to overcome the indifference or hostility of ordinary people. Indeed, it was from the first 'crazy' experiments of a few devoted men that the whole of global flight has grown in our time.

We need not dwell upon the need for Extension in India. It is the second of these two requirements which we must examine more fully in this chapter, the condition that there must be enough of the 'right kind of people' if Extension is to be established as a successful service in India.

What do we mean by the 'right kind of people' for Extension ? Those who have a sense of vocation,

of course. But what determines a genuine vocation in Extension?

We say of a person who takes *sannyas* or other religious vows without urging from his family, that he has a vocation. A priest or minister of a church responds to a 'call from God' as he devotes himself to his work; this is his vocation. Many doctors are impelled by an inner urge to serve their fellow men through medicine; their sense of vocation is strong and vital.

These are extreme examples; nothing so overpowering is to be expected of all the 230,000 Extension workers which it is estimated will have to be found and trained in India by the end of 1961. But let us consider the situation if the reader is to ponder his own, personal suitability for work in the Extension field. It is this personal nature of the choice which the individual makes which is the crux of the matter.

A vocation for Extension: Whoever is going to work in the Extension service at any level must feel inwardly called to do this sort of work. We can all deceive ourselves about this inner call, of course; but a careful study of this chapter, and particularly its closing section about the essential need of vocation, will provide the reader with a means of self-examination on the subject. As with a religious vocation, so with a vocation to Extension, only the individual himself can finally state whether or not he has the true inner call. Other experienced persons can help him by discussion, but they cannot judge for him the inner realities of his own spirit.

It is a fact that Extension, which is a specialized branch of the educational profession, requires its

practitioners to have a vocation hardly less serious than the religious vocation, and certainly more deeply realized than a vocation for the profession of engineering, or architecture. An Extension service cannot be built up like a business organization, for instance a new factory. It is not possible to train people for Extension work, irrespective of their inherent qualities, their previous education (including education within the family), their possible feeling of vocation to this work. The most perfect training in Extension techniques will not make an Extension worker from an unsuitable person.

C. SOURCES OF EXTENSION PERSONNEL

At this stage of the examination of the qualities required in those who intend to adopt Extension as a profession we must glance at the two extreme sources of recruitment, though there are obviously many possible sources which lie in between these two:

1. *The young man or woman who is at the point of choosing a career.* This may be the adolescent, at the end of his time at school, or, at the latest, the undergraduate student in the first year at college, before any subject has been finally chosen as a specialization.

It is from this group that the majority of *Gram Sevaks* and *Sevikas* are drawn. It has proved necessary, in the search for exactly the right kind of person, who gives evidence of being possessed by a vocation for the work, to be less fussy about educational qualifications. There are plenty of Extension workers resident in the villages who are not even matriculates. There are several 'constructive workers' of the Gandhian discipline. These have combined excellently with

graduates in agriculture, in our direct experience at Allahabad. Vocation has, in fact, actually proved to be the decisive factor to qualify a man or woman for village-level work.

It is much harder to measure the relative effectiveness of Extension staff working in the administrative and visiting-specialist jobs, who give the necessary coherence to village-level work. Not even a tentative suggestion as to educational or other qualifications can be drawn from our experience of staff working outside the villages. It is probably too early to make any judgements.

As regards the upper levels of Extension work where guidance and organizing of a complex kind are needed, it has not been and it will not be possible for some time yet to assign to such jobs persons who are just setting out on a lifetime's career.

2. *The experienced man or woman, whose work has usually been in other fields : but who is either assigned to or offered a job in Extension Service.* It is largely from this second group that we must consider drawing the staff for the upper levels of any Extension service, for some years to come. Until we have adequate university courses in Extension (including practical field-work), which take the matriculate or first-year student and qualify him or her academically as an Extension professional, we shall have to rely mostly on this second group to build, adjust and run the Extension machine, and also for much of the specialized work which Extension requires of Agriculture and many other sciences. This whole subject is outside the scope of this textbook.

With a very few exceptions, then, Extension administrators, organizers and technical advisers will, for the time being, have to be either foreigners (some of them specialists), or the more mature Indians who are available, usually with no previous professional experience of Extension as such. This makeshift may be anticipated for a generation, or perhaps even two generations.

The possibilities for choice of senior personnel here in India are very wide ; but it must be borne in mind that many people find their vocations late, even after fifty years of age, and as examples, there may be senior I.C.S. officers or women social service workers who have been cut out for Extension all their lives, without the opportunities being available to them. They may have to learn startlingly new concepts of administrative method, and they may have to accept a scale of values which will be disturbingly new, especially in middle-age ; but these changes can only serve to test and strengthen the true vocation. The problem to be solved is how to narrow the choice down to one which establishes vocation as the decisive factor to determine such a person continuing for the rest of his or her life in Extension work.

What vocation is not. Bearing in mind the wide field of recruitment which is indicated above, we may now come back to the definition of vocation for *all* Extension workers. It is easier to proceed from here by negatives.

Attractive pay or prospects, including the hope of the honour and glory of having done a hard job in pioneering a national necessity, will not automatically select suitable personnel for Extension. The pay, in

the lower grades of Extension, is not at present attractive; but to increase it would not secure the right kind of recruit. At the upper levels, the prestige factor probably has more influence. Even were this increased by elaborate Public Relations or publicity campaigns, still the right type of person would not be thereby drawn into Extension work.

Again, at the higher levels the usual qualifications considered, especially in Government service, where a new and problematical job has to be done, will not secure the right type of person. Such qualities as high organizing ability, outstanding energy, administrative skill, and inter-service diplomacy are all assets; but they do not add up to the complete picture of a good Extension professional; and no amount of specialized training, at any age, will make up for the missing factor—this elusive *vocation*.

As has been suggested in connexion with Group I above, our experience at Allahabad indicates that the 'constructive worker' in the Gandhian discipline proves excellent in service alongside the more technically educated types of recruit. But there has been a tendency to accept the mantle of the Gandhian disciple as direct evidence of the pure vocation for village work. This is not necessarily the fact. A man or woman with a fine record of self-sacrifice in the national struggle, in social welfare work, and in submission to the finest principles of non-violent action is not, by these distinctions, thereby guaranteed to have a vocation for a lifetime career as an Extension worker.

It seems probable that persons who have had the type of experience just described will need to examine their vocation all the more searchingly. Fortunately,

they are nearly always just the sort of persons who are inclined to do so. The reasons for this self-vigilance are fairly simple. The Gandhian discipline generates emotions which are as powerful as its ideals are high. The personal concern of those who follow this discipline for the relief of poverty and social inferiorities of many kinds, even if it be intellectual, is seldom objective; indeed, the approach to the work along this path is normally subjective. The powerful emotions which give drive to the Gandhian disciple, and his subjective view of his work, are both elements which may easily be mistaken for a true vocation to Extension service.

D. HUMAN RELATIONS, THE MISSING FACTOR

So far as one can analyse towards the missing factor of vocation, it lies in the ill-defined field of human relations. Any good teacher in a school has this sort of special interest in other human beings; but somehow an absorbing interest in children and adolescents is more common than an equally strong pull towards adults. It is perhaps easier to find the solutions to the problems of the young, or at any rate one can delude oneself more easily into the belief that one has found solutions. No such easy discoveries of one's educational powers are possible when working with adults.

Two elements are essential to the Extension worker's interest in human relationships:

1. *Group Psychology:* It is possible to pick out men who will make good Public Relations Officers, given a specialized training after selection. A suitable P.R.O. must have an intuitive understanding of group-thinking. He

cannot be trained to this immediate grasp of the common emotional factors, and their trick of rapid changes. His training can intensify this understanding ; it can enable him to demarcate, classify and handle different groups ; but the basic view of people in their groups as a sort of huge, simplified person is an original talent which cannot be taught. This talent can and must be brought out of one who has it ; when it is discovered by its possessor, it can then be trained for application. This working with groups is common to both professions—Public Relations and Extension ; but the training for the latter work is of course very different.

An Extension worker must originally have *some* of this group-divining talent. If he is a type which always finds it easier to work with individuals than with groups, he will be unable to work effectively with Indian villagers. The more difficult element which is next described is more essential to the true vocation for Extension work ; but this element is almost powerless without the cultivated gift of sensing the feeling of people in groups.

2. *Compassion in Action :* It is much more difficult to find persons who are capable of losing themselves in active identification with other individuals who need help. Of course most men and women are capable of an equal selflessness at least once during their lives—when they fall in love! To quite a few educated persons it comes just as naturally and inevitably as falling in love

to feel an irresistible pull to serve other persons who are not so favourably placed in the world.

This impulse can be cultivated in those who have it; but it cannot be created by any sort of discipline in those who do not have it. Those who are possessed by this need for service cannot help going on with it, once they have had a taste of its satisfactions. No rebuffs will stop them trying to serve others. You might as well try to stop a born musician from making music. But the person with a vocation for Extension or adult education can have his capacities for such service destroyed: as soon as a consciousness of duty or self-sacrifice is allowed to enter, the true vocational impulse will vanish.

Many people get emotionally disturbed by the evidence of poverty; these transient feelings should not be mistaken for the vocation of service. The real lover of other human beings in a less fortunate position than himself acts because of his sense of sharing with them, or with some of them, to be quite accurate. The vocationary can be distinguished by his steadily objective view of poverty, which is in fact very much the way in which the Indian villager looks at his own state. In the educated person with a vocation to help others, this matter-of-fact attitude to all the villagers' problems keeps him keen to find solutions, without any possibility of being deflected by frustration or obstruction.

One who could apply this tireless compassion in perfect selflessness to every villager, without

distinction, would be like the Lord Buddha; and of course we cannot expect to recruit Extension workers from rows of *Bodhisatvas*! With human beings, who are the postulants to this profession, there will always be choice, no matter how pure and powerful their impulse to serve may be. Still, such is the strength of our traditions in India, that we may expect to find large numbers of candidates from the better-integrated families of all social levels who have this true vocation, and who will be able to cultivate it for Extension service so that it can embrace nearly all the village-folk with whom they make contact.

E. WHY A SENSE OF VOCATION IS ESSENTIAL

There is every reason why, even though it be possible, and it may even look practical in these early years, no one should take up Extension work for a temporary period. This is the sort of profession which must be chosen as a lifetime career—or for the balance of a lifetime—or it should not be attempted at all. To experiment with Extension work with no intention of pursuing it, even though one's experiment seems to be leading to effective action, is most unfair on villagers, on oneself and on one's colleagues in the Extension service. To take a job in Extension because it is offered, and without properly considering one's vocation for the work, is to court unhappiness for oneself as well as for others. Anyone who feels that he must try it out before he is sure of his vocation for this work should set himself a reasonable time limit, say a year or two at the most.

The profession is new; one could never learn all about it, if one had ten lifetimes to spend. This is the chief reason why one should enter Extension only if one is prepared to spend the rest of one's life at this work. It is a serious responsibility, this undertaking to help other, experienced adults to remake their lives.

Another, but minor, string of reasons for making sure of one's vocation lies in the undoubted fact that Extension work is hard; is often to be carried out under difficult physical and mental conditions; is usually most frustrating; requires patience beyond all imagining, and the endurance of a dull, apathetic atmosphere in villages which has to be lived to be believed.

One of the most difficult feats of endurance which any Extension worker who visits villages will have to perform should be faced when one is considering the strength of one's vocation. It is a fact that villagers —and others—will, on the slightest opportunity, pour out a string of commonplaces about duty, goodness, self-sacrifice, gratitude and similar empty phrases, which have to be similarly accepted. It is at once seen by the Extension worker who is intent on his final objective of establishing free choice in villagers' thoughts as well as his actions that this sort of speech-making is the same old ritual, which has to be performed, often to avoid or postpone a real change of thought or action. But it should also be realized that this performance *is a ritual which is essential to maintain the self-respect of the speechmaker.*

The silent, smiling play of acceptance by the listener is part of the ritual, believed in by the villager no more and no less than he believes in the validity of the whole

performance. It is an apparent departure from the aims and truth-bearing mission of the Extension worker to say no word in criticism, and this necessity to share villagers' defensive insincerity (which is a persistent social pattern in rural India) is possibly the hardest burden on the Extension worker.

Extension, in fact, means being all things to all men, even when those men are seemingly obstructive to one's practical effort in helping to improve some village affair. It is not possible to continue in a lifetime of Extension work unless one has an overwhelming, personal need for self-negation in the service of other people with less advantages, who are not so well-placed as oneself. If the strength of this feeling is strong and selfless enough, it forms the true vocation which will make nothing of all the hardships and obstructions on the job.

VI. THE WAY IT WORKS

The third of the five basic elements of Extension:

APPROPRIATE ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION

WE come now to a description of the way in which Extension carries forward its programme. We shall be concerned with questions about the selection and training of personnel, administration, the development of programme and budget, and matters of supply. These vital subjects will only be outlined in this chapter, for there has not yet been enough experience in the developing of organization and the operation of Extension programmes to deal with them as thoroughly as some day we shall be able to do. We ourselves, at Allahabad, find that we have to make constant changes in the day-to-day operation of our project. However, some first principles seem to remain unchanged, and we shall endeavour in this chapter to make these clear.

A. WHAT IS A GAON SATHI?

Extension workers are called by several different names. In some places *Gram Sevaks*, in others village-level workers. In the Jumna-par Punarnirman we tried to find an expression which would convey a warmer meaning and which would describe what we conceive the role of the Extension worker to be. So we call him (or her), *Gaon Sathi*—the companion of the village.

A Gaon Sathi is the villagers' companion. As a friend, he lives with villagers and works with them to help them see that their difficulties are their own

CREED OF A GAON SATHI

¶ I believe in village life and that it can be rich and wholesome.

¶ I believe in village families founded on mutual affection and respect.

¶ I believe in village youth ; in their longings for opportunity, and in the fulfilment of their right for trained minds, healthy bodies and clean hearts.

¶ I believe in village people, in their ability to solve their own problems, and in their power to develop their lives.

¶ I believe in my own work ; in the opportunity it affords to be of service to others ; and this because

All men need self-respect
All men need friendship
All men need recognition
All men need opportunity,
and therefore in all my work,
I shall seek at all times to be friendly
I shall seek at all times to be honest
I shall seek at all times to be sincere
I shall seek at all times to be humble.

¶ I shall, with sincerity of purpose, work with village men, women and children, for better family living, by helping them to make their fields and livestock more productive, their homes more comfortable and beautiful and their community more satisfying.

And because I believe in all these, and I shall to the best of my ability endeavour to fulfil them,

I AM A GAON SATHI

problems, which they are capable of solving by their own efforts. Through his friendship he introduces them to ways which lead to a happier and more wholesome village life.

As a companion and friend, he recognizes the strengths and weaknesses of his village friends and of the village as a whole. As a companion and friend, he emphasizes their strengths and helps them to build on these ; he is loth to find fault and is frequent in his praise. When he offers criticism, he does so indirectly, which is a way which comes naturally to most Indians as part of their traditional behaviour with one another.

When the Gaon Sathi is making suggestions about solutions for village problems, he avoids the limelight, making his village friends feel that the idea originated from them. He does this because he firmly believes that his village friends have the strength to solve their own problems, that they need to learn to be free for more productive action. He does this because he firmly believes that no change in the village is really worth while unless it comes from the village people themselves. He also believes that the only way to bring about lasting changes in the lives of his village friends is to create in them the desire to change. He considers this to be his primary task. Because he loves village people, he first makes sure that the means and material necessary to bring about a change are available before he creates a desire for it. For he knows that scars can be left by the frustration of a demand which has been created but left unsatisfied as a result of poor follow-up.

There are other things also which he believes about his work and his village friends ; these have been summed up in what we call the Gaon Sathi's Creed

(see page 54). This statement of belief in village people and of confidence in one's self was developed by the Gaon Sathis themselves in the early weeks of the Project. It has proved invaluable in developing a sense of dignity, purpose and *esprit de corps* throughout the Project.

As a companion and friend, the Gaon Sathi recognizes his own weaknesses and makes no effort to hide them. His frank confession that he does not know the answers to every question and does not have the ability to do everything efficiently is actually one of his strengths ; this and his genuine effort to learn from his friends of the village are two of the chief reasons why village people accept him.

As a companion and friend, he sees the village as a whole. Although farmers more often form the majority in the villages, the Gaon Sathi's mission is not to them alone, for he realizes that blacksmiths, potters, weavers, leather workers, shopkeepers and those in charge of other service agencies—Government and non-Government—are all part of the village. It is the Gaon Sathi's job to turn these people, who should be the main support of the farmer, towards working more efficiently for him and for the good of the village as a whole. The Gaon Sathi can do this by creating a better understanding of their functions and by helping them to realize their responsibilities.

As a companion and friend, the Gaon Sathi brings to village people the findings of research and experience elsewhere. He also brings better practices from other villages, thus serving as a vital means of personal communication from one village to another. These discoveries and practices are the new things of life,

which can aid in solving village problems and thus serve to make village life healthier and happier. He brings these new ideas and practices to his friends in a form they can understand, remember and use. He employs various means to persuade village people to value these new things which can improve their homes, their families and their village.

As a companion and friend, he is alive to village problems. He interprets these problems to experts outside the village in terms which they too can understand and on which they can work for solution. In doing this he realizes that finding the solution to rural problems often involves closely combining scientific discoveries with ancient folk-knowledge.

As a companion and friend, he realizes that it is important for him to avoid aligning himself with any faction in the village. He is essentially a non-party man, knowing that a strong village is one that is united and not split by factions and party politics. The Gaon Sathi works with all of the people of the village, constantly widening his circle of friends that he may help the whole village move forward.

B. THE MAN FOR THE JOB

It is clear that the problems of developing rural India are to be solved both *within* the village and by those who work on these problems *from the outside.* Our experience suggests that many of the most serious obstacles to rural development are to be found more among persons who come to work in the village from outside than among villagers themselves. It is therefore all the more essential that the village worker, as

representing the outside world, should possess all the qualities necessary for his job.

This is particularly true of the Gaon Sathi, because of the vitally important role he is playing at the present stage in India. It is too much now to expect village people to work out by themselves the over-all programme of rural development. The Gaon Sathi is, and will be for years to come, the focus of all-round development in the villages which he serves. The rest of any Extension service exists only to co-ordinate and back up his efforts in the field. Because of this unique position, and the Gaon Sathi's importance in the Extension team, because the progress of Extension depends so heavily upon his faithfulness, enthusiasm and accurate reporting, we lay so much stress on finding the right man for the job.

To find the right type of person for this job is by no means a simple matter. Hitherto, attempts have been made to assess a person's suitability for a particular job by means of competitive written examination, aptitude tests and personal interview. While achieving a certain degree of success, these conventional methods left much to be desired. In April, 1952, the Extension Project of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute was faced with the problem of having to select Gaon Sathis from 700 to 800 candidates who had applied in response to the following advertisement :

> Applications are invited for posts in three-year rural development (extension) scheme near Allahabad. Interest in village development, willingness to live in the village and use of Hindi are primary qualifications. Minimum education qualification matriculation. Additional qualifications are one or more of the following :—Agricultural School Diploma ; Intermediate Agricultural Diploma

(U.P.); Indian Dairy Diploma; B.Sc. (Agriculture); B.Sc. (Agricultural Engineering); knowledge of English; experience in rural education, public health; or other development activities. Placement in grade 75–10–175 or 200–10–250 according to qualifications, with provision for more than normal increments annually for outstanding work.

Some rough classifications had to be devised to screen off the wholly unsuitable applicants:

(1) Age—to secure a certain degree of maturity, applicants below 21 years of age were rejected.
(2) Academic qualifications—applicants who had not studied up to matriculation were rejected.
(3) Experience—candidates fresh out of High School were rejected.

As a result of this screening, 120 applicants were chosen and called for a five-day pre-selection course.

Pre-Selection Course.[1] In order to judge effectively a person's suitability for a particular job, it is necessary to observe his performance in situations similar to those he would face in his work. To provide such situations was one of the purposes of the Pre-Selection Course. Attempts were made to confront applicants with conditions like those in which they would find themselves during their normal duties as Gaon Sathis. A series of tests was arranged relative to each of these situations. Each candidate's attitude, response and performance were graded for each test and finally for the whole series.

[1] A detailed account of the Pre-Selection Course is given in Extension Dispatch No. 3, in the Appendix.

The applicants were called in three batches of 40 each. On arrival they were divided into five groups. To each group a member of the Extension staff acted as guide and assessor throughout the five-day pre-selection period. He graded the performance of each candidate in his group. The schedule for the Pre-Selection Course was not made known to the candidates, so that they entered each test without preparation.

Each candidate was tested individually on his ability to learn certain skills and to communicate what he had learned to a villager. Other tests assessed his attitude towards so-called menial tasks such as cleaning a cattle-shed, or digging a compost pit. His responses when subjected to the physical strain of a 10-mile walking trip and a 15-mile bicycle trip were recorded. His abilities to take comprehensive notes from a lecture and to carry an oral message correctly were tested. He was observed in conditions of emergency and sent on an overnight visit to the village without previous warning. His attitude and behaviour towards his co-workers, his ability to organize entertainments for rural people, and his attitude and bearing when interviewed, were also taken into account.

The performance of each candidate was carefully recorded on a Score Card. The staff members who assessed the performance of each candidate met at the end of the Pre-Selection Course to make a final selection of candidates who were to be offered posts as Gaon Sathis on the basis of their performance during the pre-selection period.

The Pre-Selection Course described above is probably the first of its kind used in India for the selection

SCORE CARD FOR CANDIDATES

Name.................................

1. Good mixer (General) — A B C D O
   ,, ,, (Villagers) — A B C D O
2. Manners — A B C D F
3. Response to challenge
   - Enthusiasm — A B C D E
   - Initiative — A B C D E
   - Versatility — A B C D E
   - Persistence — A B C D E
   - Adaptability — A B C D E
4. *Concern for others*
   - Genuinely concerned; shows balance in considering welfare for himself and others, and does what he can do about it. — A
   - Genuinely concerned, but lacks initiative. — B
   - Personal—not concerned unless it affects him. — C
   - Professes concern but does nothing about it. — D
   - Little or no concern for others. — E
5. General influence (personality) — A B C D E
6. Caste, class and status consciousness—(to be judged throughout the course) — A B C D E
7. Ability to learn new skills — A B C D O
8. Teaching capacity (ideas and skills) — A B C D E
9. Physical fitness — A B C D E
10. *Attitude towards manual labour—(cleaning cattleshed, compost-pit, etc.)*
    - Accepts manual labour. — A
    - Accepts manual labour with hesitation. — B
    - Accepts manual labour half-heartedly. — C
    - Accepts manual labour but not dirty work. — D
    - Refuses to accept manual labour. — O
11. Message—transmitting — A B C D E
    ,, —bringing — A B C D E

....

Date......... (Name of scorer)

of village workers. A measure of its effectiveness is the fact that of the 38 candidates selected only four did not succeed as Gaon Sathis.

In selecting Gaon Sathis it is essential that screening be rigorous and that it be made difficult for a person to qualify for a post. Once a person has successfully passed a test and is selected as a Gaon Sathi, it is equally important to depend on him and to let him know that we have confidence in him. As a Gaon Sathi, he is not subjected to supervision as that is commonly understood. Rather, he will be helped, encouraged, and guided. What keeps him on the job is not the supervision of superior staff but his own confidence, his zeal and his interest in working effectively with village people. He has no fear of officers or supervisors, so he is free to develop his potential talents for the job in hand and to give of his best to the effective working of a programme in the planning of which he has had a major part. He therefore does his job not because of the constant dread of losing it but because in carrying out his duties as a vital part of the Extension team, he is doing what he wants to do, and loves doing it.

C. LEARNING WHILE DOING

In the modern world, training is necessary for any profession. Since Extension work as a vocation is new in India it is particularly important to develop it along sound lines. When a pattern of training is once established, it is likely to continue for a long time.

In the training of Extension workers, three cardinal facts need to be kept in mind :

(1) Extension has a distinctive task in India partly because it began just after political independence was achieved. Training in this country needs to be of a unique kind rather than an exact copy of Extension training elsewhere.

(2) At the same time there is much which can be adapted from Extension training in other countries.

(3) People always learn faster by doing. It is common knowledge that the fastest way to learn something is to do it first, and then to have to teach it to someone else immediately.

In general there are two patterns which can be followed in training Extension workers. One is to decide how much training people need, then arrange a course long enough to give them all of this training before they begin work. The other pattern is to give in the beginning the bare minimum of training necessary, and then arrange for people to learn more and more while they are actually carrying on their work.

In-Service Training

This second method is known as In-Service Training. It has three advantages :

(1) Trainees have immediate realization of the importance of each part of the training because they see it as related to the problems of the experience which they have just met in the field as well as to the programme for the next period just ahead.

(2) Actually applying each lesson in the field immediately after learning it greatly increases the efficiency of learning and of what is transmitted to the villager by the trainee.

(3) New facts are learned just a few days before they are to be used. Therefore, they are fresh and vivid in the mind of the Extension worker as he goes out into his field of work.

In-service training is the method which has been followed in the Jumna-par Punarnirman. To begin with, this seemed natural, because the only experience already available which could be used as subject-matter in a training programme for Extension methods came from other countries, or from much older projects of very different types in India. Therefore, to train people completely before sending them out to work, we would have had to rely on second-hand information, and we would not be at all confident that what they were being taught would be useful after they got on the job.

On the other hand, reliance on a programme of in-service training has the tremendous psychological advantage that the Extension workers feel that they are *creating the pattern of a pioneer movement.* If they are told in the beginning that they are starting a new kind of work which nobody knows how to do, and that one of their tasks is to learn from their own experience how the job can be done, their task is much more stimulating to them and their education is likely to be much more effective.

Two weeks' initial training

After our Gaon Sathis had been selected, they had a two weeks' initial conference-period before going to the villages. No lectures were given during this period. All conference sessions followed the discussion method, and the whole period had four purposes :

TRAINING. Gaon Sathis need the capacity to work hard, at dirty jobs, and the ability to learn and pass on new skills. They are trained to labour in the fields, at the forge; and the men have to acquire such unfamiliar skills as knitting.

SCIENCE. Every three weeks, Gaon Sathis come for in-service training, when they meet with scientists, both in the laboratory and in the conference-hall. The current problems of the villages come up for scientific solutions ; and a simplified science finally reaches the villagers at circle meetings (*below*).

(1) *Facing themselves :* The first was to get the trainees to think more about their own attitude to their work as Gaon Sathis. This involved much fresh thinking about their attitude towards village people. As a result of these discussions they came to the conclusion that in many matters rural people are very well informed and very able. Out of their own experience they recognized that people resent programmes which force them to do something, whereas they usually can carry responsibility well when they know that it is expected of them. In these conferences the trainees came to realize what a Gaon Sathi needs to know in order to work effectively. A Gaon Sathi needs knowledge of certain practicable improvements. He needs an understanding of people. He needs confidence that his work will be effective when he does not order people around but rather when he informs and encourages them as a companion who is confident of their powers. Several discussion sessions in the first conference were devoted to this general subject. They led to the formulation of the Gaon Sathi's creed by the Gaon Sathis themselves. It is this creed which has become one of the main foundations of the whole Punarnirman project.

(2) *Programme-making :* The second purpose of this initial conference-period was to plan jointly the activities of the project for the first spell of field-work. The Gaon Sathis were about to go to their villages for the first time. Their first task would be to win the confidence of the people. But one does not gain confidence by merely visiting. It is necessary to work together. Therefore, the Gaon Sathi must go with something in his hands by way of a programme. Therefore,

in the first conference it was important to adopt a programme for the first month or so of work in the villages. What subjects should they begin discussing with village people at the start ? What should they say about them ?

(3) *Getting the facts right :* The third purpose was to get enough technical information about each of the suggestions which the Gaon Sathis would make in the village on arrival. Several sessions were devoted to choosing and then discussing green manuring, the control of malaria, and the use of improved *moong* seed, until each Gaon Sathi had an elementary knowledge of the facts with respect to each of these practices.

(4) *Settling down as villagers :* The fourth purpose of this initial conference-period was to discuss the personal problems which Gaon Sathis would face on arrival in the village. They discussed the matter of finding places to live, of how it would be best to travel between villages, whether by foot or by cycle, what arrangements would need to be made by the administration of the project to make it possible for them to get cycles, and many similar problems of establishing themselves and their families in the villages.

At the end of this first two weeks' conference each Gaon Sathi went to his area of work and began getting acquainted and looking for a place to live.

Periodic training conferences

Obviously, no one can be adequately trained for Extension work in two weeks. The theory of in-service training is: (1) that people learn faster and more effectively by studying problems they have already

faced in the field than they do when field responsibility is several months in the future, and (2) that little doses of training throughout the period of active service are far more effective than one big dose in the beginning. Hence the practice of having a three-day conference of all Gaon Sathis once every fortnight during the first year, and once every three weeks thereafter.[1]

The main activities of each of these training conferences are the following:

(1) *Discussion of what has happened in the project since the last training conference and the listing by Gaon Sathis of the questions they want to discuss and the points on which they want help.* This part of the conference is a General Meeting in which each Gaon Sathi of the project in turn reports the most significant items in his work since the last training conference, together with the difficulties he has faced and any difficulty which he foresees in the near future. There is no set time-limit on these reports. Usually they run from three to ten minutes. Very often there will be some discussion in the form of questions by other Gaon Sathis at the time each report is made but these discussions are managed by the Chairman (who is always a Gaon Sathi) so that about ten Gaon Sathis can report in one hour. Thus for a project with 45 Gaon Sathis it takes about 4½

[1] When the Jumna-par Punarnirman was launched the intention was to continue in-service training once every two weeks throughout the first three years of the project. However, late in the first year the Gaon Sathis felt that coming in every two weeks interrupted their village programme too much. Therefore, the period between training conferences was lengthened to three weeks. This new pattern has been followed throughout the second year of the project and seems to be satisfactory. Even so, if we were starting a new project we would probably have the training conference every two weeks during the first year in order that the Gaon Sathis might learn more rapidly in the early stages of the project.

hours of each training conference for this General Meeting and the General Meeting is as important as any other feature of the entire conference. Each Gaon Sathi learns that his problems are not unique. He realizes that others are having the same problems as himself. When a Gaon Sathi's particular problem seems new to him, he often realizes at the General Meeting that some other Gaon Sathi has already met it and solved it. Sometimes, a Gaon Sathi is found to have solved a problem that others have not. So the exchange of experience in fact pools the practical knowledge of the Gaon Sathis both as individuals and as a team.

The general part of the education of a Gaon Sathi comes from his own experience and that of other Gaon Sathis. This General Meeting is one of the chief means by which this education takes place. It also brings to the surface problems which need more attention and it suggests topics for special consideration in future training conferences. Also it keeps the tone of the training conferences from becoming too general or theoretical.

(2) *Training in subject-matter related to current activities in the village.* Usually training is not given in more than two subjects in any one three-day conference, but it is always on two subjects *on which the Gaon Sathis will be working a day or two after they return to their village from the conference.* For example, at a training conference during the monsoon of the first year, special periods were devoted to teaching the Gaon Sathis the techniques of green manuring. This had to be done early enough in the rains to make sure that there could be time for Gaon Sathis to give full information and

demonstrations to farmers who had decided to try the new practice. The Gaon Sathi's training therefore included demonstrations on the Institute farm, and it included practice by each Gaon Sathi in handling a steel plough while turning-under the semi-mature legume crop. Further details of this practice will be found on page 90, in an example given there.

The other subject-matter studied at that training conference was that of line-sowing, demonstrating the greater ease of cultivating two crops in the same field when each is sown in separate lines. This was included not because the Gaon Sathis were about to introduce such a practice immediately but because that was the season at which the practice could be demonstrated in the field so that when the monsoon season came around the next year they would have had experience.

(3) *Practice in the use of Extension methods and techniques.* In the first in-service training conference the Extension method discussed was that of simple conversation with village people. What is the most effective way of carrying on a conversation about green manure? What should be said and what should be omitted? How much should the Gaon Sathi talk and how much should he listen? Is it wise to inject humour into conversation when one is trying to get across a serious idea? How long should a conversation with one farmer about green manuring normally be? Many simple questions like these were discussed, then Gaon Sathis took turns carrying on sample conversations among themselves with one impersonating a farmer and another a Gaon Sathi. The whole group listened to the conversation and afterwards discussed the technique used by the Gaon Sathi.

In another in-service conference the 'Method Demonstration' was discussed and studied in the same way. Different Gaon Sathis put on method demonstrations in front of the group, followed by a discussion of the method used. The method which is shown may be a demonstration of an actual skill, such as ploughing, or giving an inoculation to a bullock against haemorrhagic septicaemia. Alternatively, it may be a method by which an idea is demonstrated, such as using a flannelgraph to get villagers to discuss the points in favour of line-sowing ; or projecting a filmstrip, and commenting to an audience on the pictures shown in order to get villagers to see the advantages of a smokeless *chulha*. Normally only one or two Extension methods are studied in each in-service training conference, and one of them is a method which the Gaon Sathis are going to use the next day after they return to their villages.

(4) *Discussion of Extension principles and village psychology*. Beyond the particular changes which Gaon Sathis are recommending and beyond the methods which they use in their work in the village, a Gaon Sathi needs a thorough understanding of the principles underlying Extension work, and of the psychology of village people which affects the ways in which they learn and their reactions to his suggestions. Such understanding never becomes complete. The good Gaon Sathi is one who throughout his life tries to keep learning more and more about village people and about the basic principles of his job. Consequently, part of the programme of each training conference ought to be devoted to these subjects.

It is well within the first year of a Project to have a period of discussion in almost every training conference

on the philosophy and principles of Extension work. Most of these will not be lectures but will be discussion of each basic principle in the light of the experiences which the Gaon Sathis are having in the villages. Many times a particular Gaon Sathi who is discouraged by what he feels to be a failure in part of his programme comes to the conclusion that one of the Extension principles which he has been taught is not sound. His rising effectiveness depends on these doubts being discussed, at an early date. In many instances, what happens when a Gaon Sathi brings such an opinion into a training conference is that he discovers other Gaon Sathis do not share his disillusionment and he is forced to consider the probability that something is wrong with his method or with his understanding rather than with the principle.

On some occasions, it will be discovered that many Gaon Sathis share the same misgivings about one of their principles. When this happens it is a sign that the more experienced staff of the Project need to direct more attention to exploring that principle. This widens the experience of the Gaon Sathis and may lead them to revise their conviction as to the soundness of a particular principle and of course it is always possible that one or more of our principles is wrong. Extension is new. Everyone is still learning. The best place to correct erroneous principles is in the give-and-take of discussions by Gaon Sathis who are the active agents of Extension in the village.

It should be emphasized that the greater part of the discussion in every training conference is among Gaon Sathis. One newspaper reporter, trying to understand how the Punarnirman works, gave the impression in

his article that Gaon Sathis bring in their problems for the administrators of the Project to solve. This is not true. Gaon Sathis bring in their problems to discuss together. In almost every instance the Gaon Sathis discovered that some other Gaon Sathi had already solved the problem and how he did it. It is only occasionally that a Project staff-member other than a Gaon Sathi gets into a discussion, and when he does it is either to put a question for further discussion, or to make a suggestion which he feels they should discuss. Always a Gaon Sathi should have the last word. They increasingly do !

(5) *Comradeship on a broader base than work alone.* There should be a liberal amount of recreation in every training conference. The Gaon Sathis are the best judges as to what form this recreation should take. For someone else to plan for them to play volley-ball when what they really want to do is to put on a variety show would be a bad mistake. Some of the best ideas for village entertainment in the Project have come out of variety shows which the Gaon Sathis put on among themselves at training conferences not for the purpose of developing Project recreation-programmes but simply for enjoyment. Even for the most devoted Gaon Sathi, life in the village is rugged and tiring. It also gets very dull for one who has known the more varied life outside the village.

The Gaon Sathi needs to get out of the village frequently and have a good time with other people who have the same interests that he has. In a sense, the whole training conference is a kind of vacation from his regular work since it is in a different place and the activity is completely different, but even this training

conference must not be allowed to get too heavy. The hours must not be too long. There must be plenty of free time, when the Gaon Sathis may move about freely among themselves, or go to the bazaar, or simply loaf. There need to be other times within the training conference when the Gaon Sathis may take part in entertainment or games of their own choice. The rest of the Extension staff should take part in the entertainment without being shy about their competence or conscious of their position. A good training conference is one from which Gaon Sathis return to their villages refreshed in spirit, renewed in their fellowship with other Gaon Sathis and the rest of the Extension staff, strengthened by new ideas for solving old problems, trained in a new Extension method to use in their daily programme, and with a deepened understanding of what Extension is all about.

D. THE BOSS WHO DOESN'T 'BOSS'

In a country which is run on the idea that the administrator makes all the decisions and directs other staff to carry them out, it is difficult to conceive of an administration which is quite different in design. If the earlier attempts in community development failed to accomplish the desired objectives, it is, to a large extent, due to the fact that they tried to work within the old framework of a directing administration. One of the basic assumptions of such an administration is that the rural people cannot solve their own problems and therefore they will have to be told what to do.

With this as a background, one needs to look at the situation existing in post-independence India. By our

Constitution, as a nation we have decided to establish a democratic form of Government. For the functioning of such a Government, it is essential that the citizens of the nation, of which the vast majority are rural people, will be able to make decisions for themselves and for the national programmes. If this principle is accepted, as it has been, it is obvious that the pattern of administration cannot be the same as it used to be.

Therefore a new pattern of administration is essential, perhaps more in Extension work than in other fields, for without it, the chances of bringing about lasting changes of a desirable nature are very small. The new pattern which we have tried to work out is based on the concept of Extension which has been described earlier in this book. There we have seen that in Extension work there are no 'bosses'. The staff has to work as a team. Different members of the team have different assignments according to their abilities, but the team spirit is always emphasized when policies, with their necessary rules and procedures, are set up and put into operation. Naturally, in a team there cannot be hierarchy; consequently the members should not have a feeling that there are higher and lower levels. The basic thing to remember is that the work of every member of the team is important in reaching the goal. The team is as strong as its weakest member.

Thus, in order to foster the team spirit and to provide for motivation within the team, it is essential to give each worker a feeling of personal importance with respect to his or her assignment. In our Project, we have tried to set up an administrative machinery based on these principles of team-work.

Even in the designation of different members of the staff, we use terms which foster a feeling of 'no hierarchy' among the workers. Thus we have Gaon Sathis in the villages and *Sathis* at headquarters. The latter may be designated as *Sathi* (Stocks and Supplies) or *Sathi* (Distribution and Transport) or *Sathi* (Co-ordination). At General Meetings, *Sathis* and Gaon Sathis sit in a circle, a physical arrangement denoting equality and conducive to full participation by all attending the meeting. Both in the field and at headquarters there is no authoritative supervision, but there is friendly guidance and encouragement toward fulfilling the goals of the Project which have been determined with the participation of all who are a part of it. Gaon Sathis in the field are visited by some *Sathis* from headquarters from time to time, and the *Sathis* spend a day or more in the villages on such occasions. In this way, the *Sathis* get to understand the problems of the Gaon Sathis, learn to know them better, guide them where guidance is needed, and encourage them generally. No *Sathi*, of course, ever interferes directly in the work of any Gaon Sathi in a village. Such visits also afford opportunities to see that the Gaon Sathis are supplied with the necessary teaching materials as well as to see that these are used correctly. The *Sathis* at headquarters hold a weekly meeting attended by all *Sathis* during which each has an opportunity to present the difficulties experienced by him or her in connexion with the work assigned.

There is thus in the Jumna-par Punarnirman no supervision of the conventional type. Each worker is left to his honour to go about doing the work effectively and earnestly, instead of doing some work to fill up

the record and to satisfy a supervisor. It is our experience that instead of less work, as one might suppose, this system has spurred the Gaon Sathis to do much more than they would have otherwise done. Two pertinent points need to be mentioned here.

1. Our method of selection of Gaon Sathis and others is very rigorous as has been mentioned in an earlier chapter. In that selection we always look for the qualities which are necessary to work under the above system. When once the selection is made, we all place complete confidence in our new colleague and we let him know that we depend on his integrity and he depends on ours. Then his own conscience becomes his supervisor. In actual practice it proves more strict than any outside superior.

2. We have our methods by which outstanding work is recognized. There is a three-man committee to evaluate the work of each *Sathi* and Gaon Sathi at the end of each year. On the basis of this evaluation, the persons who have done excellent work are given more than one increment in their grade for the following year. Promotions to higher grades are also based on the same evaluation. If such recognition cannot be made by higher salaries, we believe a letter or some other more public form of recognition which expresses appreciation for a year's good work will act as a stimulus to do better in the subsequent year.

A programme is strengthened when its administration is facilitating rather than directing the activities of its workers, and when it encourages all of them to criticize constructively the working of the programme. Such criticism is possible only when members of the staff work in an atmosphere of freedom rather than of

fear. In Jumna-par Punarnirman, opportunities for free discussion, criticism, fresh consideration of the administrative set-up and general working of the Project are provided at the General Meetings which are held every third week throughout the year. There is also an annual three-day 'retreat' for *Sathis* and Gaon Sathis. This is usually held at a place outside the Project area but with a good natural setting. Some of the practical things which arise from the General Meetings and the annual Retreat are preparation of future plans for activities in the field such as the fixing of Extension topics and their corresponding targets; the selection of those aspects of rural life which should receive emphasis in the programme with respect to season; and modifications of current activities if these are found necessary.

New Administrative Principles

Within the context of the pattern of administration stated above, we consider the following essential for good administration:

1. The administrator should radiate confidence. It is his duty never to show a lack of confidence or to be uncertain about the programme. If he shows lack of confidence, it will very soon bring down the morale of the team of workers.

2. The administrative staff should have adequate knowledge of the technical facts. This is essential. No programme can be successfully carried out with only the will and the desire to move ahead.

3. Honesty to oneself and in dealing with others is absolutely essential. Villagers have a great regard for an honest administrator, hence they should not be

disappointed. This also applies to the things that are not known. One should be honest in admitting that one does not know all the answers to a problem, rather than give wrong answers.

4. The administration should be sufficiently flexible instead of following a rigid pattern either set by itself or a higher authority. In all programmes, but more so in Extension, there is a great need for modification of the different aspects of the programme in the light of experience gained in the field, or on account of existing circumstances in a village or a group of villages. It should be possible for the administration to make such modifications quickly and at the right time, but always in the interest of the ultimate objective of the Extension project.

5. Creating an atmosphere of warm human relations helps a great deal towards good administration. Some of the most successful programmes appear at first glance to be the least organized. Few orders are given by 'higher-ups'. Workers do not have to wait around until the boss comes and gives the orders. They should be able to go about their jobs within the broad policies laid down. They should have sufficient freedom of action in the field to suit varying circumstances.

E. GIVE-AND-TAKE

We come now to a discussion of the need for flexibility in the development and conduct of the Extension programme, and to a brief mention of a need which is closely allied to it: flexibility in matters of budget.

I. Programme Flexibility with Continuity

It has previously been suggested how the order and tempo of village development must be determined by villagers. Consequently, one of the first tasks of Extension is to find out from villagers which of the present practices seem to them in need of improvement, in what order they would like to take up these 'felt needs' and how long they think it should take to make the changes, if indeed change seems desirable and practicable to them, when they have considered the possible improvement which Extension can suggest. We describe this as a first task; but it is a task which will go along concurrently with the educational process of cultivating in villagers' minds the ability of critical examination of evidence and free choice based on it, perhaps for several generations.

No good plan can be made for a village from outside the village. Just how the villagers are to be drawn into making a plan for themselves is outlined in Chapter VII B. Extension has therefore to help the villagers to plan for their own education, while it is carrying out that special kind of education. The Extension programme is essentially this plan for the continuing education of village-folk, in forming which they themselves must take an active part.

It follows that the Gaon Sathi has to work on a sense of unanimous or majority wishes in each village, and to combine the wishes of the group of villages to which he is assigned into a coherent whole. Just as each villager cannot be separately catered for by this special kind of education, so every village cannot have an entirely different educational programme. Further, the main lines of the 'felt needs' will have to be laid

down for blocks of not less than about 100 villages at a time. It is uneconomic of time, effort and money, to set up 100 different programmes, or even 15 different programmes—one for each Gaon Sathi's assignment in the Punarnirman—when one Extension programme, with local variations to meet special needs in any village, will do a sound job. Our experience at Allahabad shows that, in fact, the felt needs, their order of priority for villagers, and the time taken to cope with them do not differ so very much over a block of 100 villages. Two principles arise from this experience.

1. *Flexibility*. The programme must be flexible in every way:

a. The topics[1] chosen for education must be common to all the villages in the Project; but it must be possible to add or to drop particular topics for a particular village or group of villages, at the discretion of the Gaon Sathi.

b. The order in which the topics are taken up in each village must be allowed to vary, according to the people's wishes, provided that all the topics which have been programmed for a season (roughly half the year) are covered during the season.

c. The time taken to cover each topic must be fitted into the programme, according to the limited capacity even of individual villagers. On the other hand, there must be no excess work-load on the Gaon Sathi in making this adjustment (see 2 (b) below).

2. *Continuity*. The programme must have continuity. Villagers, and Gaon Sathis too, must never be allowed

[1] For definition of the term 'topic' see page 94.

to let any item of the programme which they have planned together slide away from them, unnoticed.

a. If a topic cannot be pursued for any reason, then the reason must be examined by villagers and Gaon Sathi jointly. It may be that one of the items in the educational plan proves at first to be beyond the villagers' capacity, or beyond the capacity of the Extension project to communicate. If so, the fact must be faced, and a definite decision must be taken to defer that item for the time being, returning to it in a later season.

b. If it be merely that the Gaon Sathi undertook too much work and cannot get through all his educational tasks according to the programme; or if it happens that villagers could not devote as much time as they had planned to learning from Extension during the season considered—then the items of the programme which were inadequately covered must be put into the programme for the next (corresponding) season.

A. FLEXIBILITY: IT NEED NOT BE THE ADMINISTRATOR'S HEADACHE.

Extension programmes for the seasons following that in which Extension is introduced into a group of villages will become increasingly the villagers' programmes. They will grow more out of the wishes of the village people, and will be more completely the programmes which they have chosen. But right from the start and at any stage in the development of an Extension Service, the programme can be one which the

villagers think they need; it will then give them satisfaction if it brings the results they hope for, and it will not cause them frustration if it does not bring those results.

There are two very sound reasons why it is safe to trust the judgement of village people in building an Extension programme:

1. People learn most in a programme which they have chosen—both about its content and about its process of choosing and taking responsibility.

2. Though they may make choices in a different order from that which an administrator or planner would follow, village people will nearly always make choices within the field about which an Extension programme should be concerned, because their interests are primarily in agriculture, family life, health and village organization.

Only when village people have had a share in planning their Extension programme will they learn through such a programme to choose for themselves and to take responsibility for the results of their choice.

Some administrators fear such a programme. They sometimes fear it because they think they are wiser than village people about what is needed. However, experience with building a programme which follows the lead of village judgement proves that village people usually make very good choices. Very often they choose the same subjects for the programme which administrators would have chosen. When they do, the programme has all of the virtues of any administrator-chosen programme plus the great advantage that it is the *villagers'* programme. They have decided what it is to be. Therefore, they want to see it succeed.

Sometimes, of course, village people prefer a programme which differs from that which the administrators would have chosen. When this occurs, the choice may be wise or it may be unwise. It may be wise because often village people know better than does a particular set of administrators. In such cases, the administration will have been saved from making a mistake. Or a village choice may be wise because they choose a programme *for which they are ready.* An Extension programme can be successful only when people are ready for it.

Perhaps, by some good standard, a group of villages really 'needs' another programme more than the one they chose. Perhaps, in a particular village, people would benefit more by constructing a village road than by building soak-pits, but if what they want to do first is to build soak-pits, then that is the immediate programme through which they will learn the most and make the most progress. Children benefit by learning to read, but make very little progress until they *want* to learn to read, until they are ready for it. Production increases when soil fertility is built up. But farmers do not take quickly to the use of green manure, or of any other fertilizer, until they have learnt the value of the practice and want to adopt it.

EXAMPLE: In one village of the Punarnirman, there is a *bidi* (country cigarette) factory. Its workers are mostly adolescent boys. There is no doubt that, if they were literate, they would have a better control of their employment with the factory owner, who has it all his own way, as it appears to those of us who are accustomed to regulated employer-labour relations. The workers can see this, and at first they responded

to an offer of literacy teaching with enthusiasm. Then, when they saw that they would have to pay a few annas for newspapers, booklets and other means of using their new and undeveloped ability to read, they cooled off. They said that they would rather spend these small sums of money, put by from their earnings, on a wrestling pit and the keep of an *ustad* (professional wrestling master). The occupation of their spare time outside the factory hours was about the same either way. The wrestling could bring them no conceivable benefit ; the boys were insufficiently fed to do anything but overstrain themselves by the intensive wrestling which is popular in the Jumna-par area. But that is what they wanted, and the Gaon Sathi of course ceased to press his literacy teaching and helped them to improve their wrestling school.

As a result, a centre has been formed where the young factory-hands meet and enjoy themselves after their work, which is entirely sedentary. They are happy with their sport. They form a group round the pit which is amenable to further education on the other topics which are in the village programme. The administration made the wrong first choice, and the boys corrected it with a better knowledge of their own needs, in this case probably largely psychological. People do know about themselves, and instinctive knowledge is often sounder than analytical knowledge ; the boys expressed their feelings correctly, while the Extension Project was planning from the outside, by intellectual analysis.

1. *Extension must also march ahead of village folk.* Part of a good Extension programme is the demons-

tration of practices which will be helpful as soon as people are convinced of their value and see how the practice can be introduced. But such demonstrations should be kept on a small scale until villagers are eager to learn how to apply them. In the terminology of the Etawah Project, a good Extension programme should include 'pilot demonstration' of practices for which village people may not yet be ready. But the 'saturation programmes'—efforts to introduce widespread use of the practice—should wait until villagers join in approval of that item as the major part of the programme.

2. *Villagers and Extension workers both learn from failures.* And what if the judgement of village people at times proves to have been mistaken? If that part of the programme fails, at least they will have been responsible for its selection and out of the incident they will have gained valuable experience. All of us learn by our failures as well as by our successes. If village people and Gaon Sathis share in planning, both they and administrators gain experience, whether a particular project succeeds or fails. As a matter of fact, when carefully laid plans and an action-programme end in failure, a situation comes up where the village folk show their superior quality. There is much that Extension administrators can learn from the undaunted response of villagers to failure. It is nothing new to village folk to fail; they live with the threat of failure from year to year, and perhaps this is one of the reasons why the traditional culture-patterns of India assign a very low place to the stimulus of success. A *dharma-yogi* is concerned with the fulfilment of a programme of action; he should be as

unconcerned as possible about the results. If this attitude can be maintained, one can, of course, learn far more from a failure, since the confusing emotion of disappointment is minimized. The mind remains clear to learn how to avoid a failure next time.

EXAMPLE: One of the Punarnirman villages which is near the main road from Allahabad to Rewa decided to build a link-road of a few furlongs. The villagers were very proud of this resolve, not only because the idea of collective action was quite new in that village, but also because the chief obstacle to the road plan was, as usual, land-ownership; and this they had overcome, for once. Public opinion, stirred up to some extent by the Gaon Sathi, prevailed, and the richest man of the village, who was far too selfish to be popular at any time, was persuaded to sacrifice a bit of his land.

So pleased with themselves were these villagers and their Gaon Sathi that they were in a hurry to get the road built. It was only a few days' work anyway, and its value was one of prestige rather than of any great added convenience. They were in such a hurry that they would not wait for counsel from the P.W.D. engineer on how to build the road. The Gaon Sathi, who should have known better, was anxious to put the villagers' new enthusiasm to work, and he very correctly supposed that it would have taken weeks for the P.W.D. engineer to get around with technical advice, by which time the villagers' enthusiasm would have faded away. The result might also have been anticipated: one *nullah* had to be crossed by the new road; it was dry when they filled it in, and they never thought how extra-heavy rains would convert the road into a dam across the nullah. An engineer would have

told them that they must build an arch of bricks, or inset a concrete hume-pipe in their banked crossing. So the next heavy rains backed up on one side of the road, and swamped some fields. Further, the road was so thinly laid, of earth which was not even rammed hard, and without any stone to give resistance, that it became a morass by the end of the first rains. So the community-built road failed.

The only person in the village who was really upset about this was the Gaon Sathi. The unconcern of the villagers impressed the administration of the Punarnirman so strongly that they reasoned with the Gaon Sathi and got him to work out, step by step, with the villagers, just where and how they had gone wrong. In the end, during the second monsoon of the Project, the road was rebuilt on the old alignment, with proper engineering counsel, and with far greater enthusiasm on the part of the villagers, although it took them much longer to do it in the right way. Naturally, they now feel that they are experienced road-builders ; and the Gaon Sathi has also learnt one valuable lesson of the villagers' superiority over himself.

3. *Further and final arguments for flexibility.* The Extension programme of any particular project must be flexible ; that is, subject to frequent modification and change—because of this paramount necessity that a good programme should follow the choices of village people. Flexibility is called for on two other considerations :

a. It is necessary to allow for the growing experience of the Gaon Sathis and administrators themselves. We can none of us start work in an Extension Project with the feeling that we know

all about the area, the people and their needs. Most of us who are working on Extension programmes now are very ignorant of village needs and resources in a general way. Further, the field of knowledge from which we are supposed to draw and supply for communication to villagers is so vast (see pages 17-18) that we must recognize our ignorance of our own scientific sources. We shall learn, but we can never learn it all.

All of us make many wrong decisions, and we are going to make many more. We must not be bound by those mistakes after we have found out that we were wrong, and that there is a better way to work. We should profit by our mistakes and therefore we need to be in a position to change our programme, or our methods, or both, at short notice.

b. The judgment of village people of different localities changes from *tehsil* to *tehsil*. Even within one Project covering 400 villages there needs to be room for differences in the programme in order to increase each village's enthusiasm by local emphasis on particular chosen topics. In the Jumna-par Punarnirman we try to retain programme uniformity within a circle of 100 villages, but allow for more variations between the four circles.

B. CONTINUITY: THE REAL PROBLEM OF EVERY EXTENSION WORKER.

Although programmes must be built with the participation of village people, and must be flexible in

order to correspond to village wishes, they must also have enough continuity to be effective. Here is a point at which well-trained Extension staff should make their contribution. Village people know what they want ; well-trained Extension workers know the processes whereby the villager's felt need can be satisfied. Some of these processes involve the techniques of agriculture, of medicine or of home economics. Other processes are the methods of education, the means by which people learn fastest and with least effort.

Village people know what they want, but usually they do not realize the disciplined steps and the time necessary to reach their objectives. They are often inclined (as we all are) to become impatient of results and to drop one project half-finished in order to start a new one. Or they become disheartened by the labour involved, or by the cost of a change, and want to drop even their own proposals before really giving them a fair trial.

For this reason we have found it better to have Completion Ceremonies instead of Opening Ceremonies. If a public ceremony is arranged when a task is undertaken, like building a road or a school, interest is apt to die down later when the work becomes tiresome. But if a public ceremony is not held until the task is completed there is a better chance of the village sticking at the job until it is done. If a new village library is opened, it is better to delay any ceremony until after it has been operating regularly and successfully for perhaps a month, for operating a library regularly is even more important than opening one.

EXAMPLE: It has happened that many farmers have sown early *moong* (pulse with plentiful green

foliage and quick growth), or *sanai* (hemp), with the intention of ploughing in either of these legumes before maturity, so that it will enrich the soil as green manure for the *rabi* crop. The green manure plant is planted as early as possible in the rains; it is turned-in about six weeks after sowing. It occupies fields which would otherwise lie fallow, or at most carry a catch-crop of fodder, during the *kharif* season.

However, when the time came to turn-in the young plants, the sight of the *moong* pods beginning to form was too much for some farmers; they had not the heart to bury the young plants in the soil. Therefore they abandoned the green manuring, let the *moong* mature and got a fair crop of *dal*, but missed a principal grain crop.

While giving villagers a full share in programme planning, Gaon Sathis and administrators need to make sure that the programme is not allowed to embrace too many activities at one time. They must make sure that when one activity is undertaken it is continued long enough to have real opportunity for success. They must supply the perseverance necessary to keep at a job until it is finished.

So the flexibility of a programme—important in itself—must be tempered by Extension experience of how intensively and how long to continue a project, once it has been undertaken. The same is true of continuity and readiness to change with respect to the use of any particular Extension method.

C. GAON SATHIS' DAILY PROGRAMMES: ROUTINE AND FLEXIBILITY

A similar combination of flexibility with continuity has to be achieved by each Gaon Sathi in his own daily

programme. One of the difficulties of Extension work is that a Gaon Sathi has no external time-table by which he must work. No class bells ring calling him to class, as they do for school teachers and college professors. There are no established office hours as in Government offices or in business where associates know when one is on time and when one is late. No 'superior officer' comes around frequently to keep him at work. He is on his own. He has to work out his own schedule, a matter which is difficult for many of us. The only way to do this effectively is to establish a daily routine which is the same day after day, so that energy will not be wasted by making a new plan every day, or by failing to foresee what needs to be done today in order to be ready for what comes next week.

At the same time, however, the Gaon Sathi's position as a friend and as a companion in the village requires that he be ready to change his routine when emergencies arise. His programme must not be so rigid that he cannot depart from it when his friends need him. Yet he must take care that this does not happen so often that it destroys his routine. He must also be careful that he does not use this need for flexibility as an excuse for having no regular programme at all. And he must be very careful that he does not allow 'emergencies' to make him break his promise, previously made, to be with certain villagers, at a certain time, for a stated purpose. Village people have to learn reliability, too; in this instance by example.

EXAMPLE: One of the duties of the Gaon Sathi is to attend the ceremonies of his village friends, and of course those connected with marriage and death are

the most important. A death is always an emergency in a tropical country; but it is considered a betrayal of friendship if the Gaon Sathi is on hand when a death occurs, and yet fails to attend the ceremonies, up to the cremation. Yet even this duty may have to give place to others.

A Gaon Sathi had made arrangements to collect a whole assembly of villagers on the farm of one of his friends, to witness the handling of an experimental demonstration. A test plot had been planted with rows of *jowar*, alongside a similar plot in which the same seed had been broadcast, in the usual way. The time had come to thin out the seedlings in the line-sown *jowar*, so that there should not be too much load on the soil. This stage of demonstration was fixed at a particular hour of a particular day. Not only were the farmers from several villages waiting to see the technique of thinning; but the labourers who served the farmer on whose field the experiment was carried out were also ready and waiting. Everyone had to wait for a couple of hours, because the Gaon Sathi was caught by a friend, just as he left his place to hurry to the demonstration, with the news that the head of that family died the night before, and they were now going to take him to the burning-ghat. The Gaon Sathi was overwhelmed with the immediate need to give witness of his companionship for the bereaved family, and he probably thought that the next day would do as well for the *jowar*-thinning operation. The idea of all those people waiting did not strike him forcibly enough; otherwise he could have explained it somehow to the bereaved family, on the score that life must go on and people must be enabled to eat more.

Almost three hours late, the Gaon Sathi reached the experimental plot. There he found a major row going on. One of the sons of the farmer on whose field the plot was situated had conceived that he understood how to thin out the plants. He had grown tired of waiting; so had all the others, and therefore, when he asked his father, the farmer who owned the land, whether they should not carry on with the thinning, he got permission to start.

Unfortunately, while the women who were employed for weeding would have accepted the Gaon Sathi as an authority, they were not ready to accept the farmer's son. In their hearts, they could not believe that this thinning was anything but a waste of valuable food-growth. As soon as the thinning operation began, then, one old lady rushed forward screaming with fury and tried to stop the farmer's son from 'destroying life', as she put it. Sides were immediately taken, on the field, and the Gaon Sathi arrived to find his controlled experiment and demonstration was a battle royal of words and flourished sickles. It was all that he could do to pacify the contestants, and to send them home, with many apologies. Only after they had gone could he himself carry on with the thinning, helped by the farmer and his son. The chance of demonstration was lost, and because the educative effect of this experiment depends on a chain of demonstrations at strategic intervals during the growth of the experimental plants, when one of the series is missed in this way, the whole value of one season's demonstration is destroyed. The villagers in the Gaon Sathi's assignment as a whole would have been far better supported if he had chosen, for once, to let down

the bereaved family which only needed him to fulfil a ritual.

D. TERMINOLOGY OF EXTENSION PROGRAMMES

At this stage, we must make some definitions to show our Allahabad use of words which are employed by people working in Extension all over India; but which seem to have acquired a multitude of different and confusing meanings. We ourselves began in a complete muddle of these terms.

1. *Extension Topic.* We now use the word 'topic' much as the school-master uses the word 'subject' to describe what he is going to teach. More accurately, when an Extension worker in our Project has a single proposal to make to village-folk, which introduces one new idea or practice, or one new practice based upon a new idea, we call this subject a *topic.*

Thus, green manuring is a topic, although the choice of leguminous plants to be ploughed-in is part of a long process which begins with the very idea of manuring fields to get better crop-yields. Including the techniques required to determine when to plant and when to turn in the green manure, and how to prepare the seed bed for the main crop after doing so, one topic only is being considered throughout.

There can of course be a network of interrelated topics, such as would be formed by more advanced experiments to test the value of adding different fertilizers to the soil. Then the topics of line sowing and intercultivation would necessarily be married with the topics of green manuring, application of farmyard manure or compost made from it, and use of chemical fertilizers.

2. *Extension Emphasis* (*or Emphasized Topic*). The word 'emphasis' is sometimes used by itself. It refers always to the stress laid by Extension workers when working with villagers on a particular Extension topic, or a network of topics. Where a number of unrelated (or not directly related) Extension topics are given particular weight by Extension field-workers, these are referred to as the *emphases* for that area, or season or other division of the project. *Emphasis* simply suggests that more attention is paid to one Extension topic or to a number of selected topics than is paid to others; it denotes a stress, and as such it has a qualitative sense; but the word 'emphasis' does not carry any idea of quantity in a given period or area, or otherwise in our Project.

3. *Extension Target*. When an Extension topic becomes generally accepted by villagers through an Extension project or one of its major divisions, it may or may not be because emphasis has been laid on that topic in the Extension programme. In any case, an accepted topic is *ipso facto* suitable to receive emphasis. The assignment of emphases is to date about as far as we can take villagers with us in planning the detailed Extension programmes for successive seasons in the Punarnirman; villagers cannot yet contribute to the next stage of programme construction.

This next stage is to assign a quota of performance either to each Gaon Sathi, or to a major division of a project. This quota is obviously a quantitative measure of achievement in working with a particular Extension topic. It may take two forms:

a. Each Gaon Sathi has to carry so many sessions a day, or per three-weeks' period, in teaching a

particular topic by a particular method. An example is to give four demonstrations in three weeks of summer-ploughing with a steel plough in the hot weather. Another is to give two filmstrip demonstrations of improved grain-storage at the end of the *rabi* season, when harvesting is being completed.

b. Each Gaon Sathi, or each circle of 100 villages, is to total from daily records a given number of villagers who have accepted and are using a changed practice in the course of the season.

   An example is to set 80 smokeless *chulhas* as a target for one circle of 100 villages in the *rabi* season October/April.

These quantitative treatments of Extension topics are what we call *Targets*.

4. *Extension Objectives*. Our use of this term at Allahabad is still rather imprecise, but it is taking a more definite shape. What we mean by *objectives* is really the village-equivalent to the degree or diploma for which a university student aims, and which represents the university's opinion of him that he is an informed and reasoning person, able to acquire more knowledge for himself, in a critical way, and to use the selected knowledge which suits him in a practical manner. This is what a B.A., a B.Sc., or B.Sc. (Ag.), or a Diploma in Dairying should mean; the skills required by the diploma-holder in the last-named are really by the way. What is important is the cultivated, chiefly mental ability of the person who is a finished product of education.

VILLAGERS. Extension must train village men, and women too. New services are created, such as inoculating cattle against disease, and destroying field-rats with a gas pump. Old skills are modernized, as when *malis* learn grafting. New tricks are taught to housewives, like disinfesting a child's head.

INVENTION. Extension enables new ways to replace old habits more easily. The farmer below has broken with the old way of lifting water for irrigation (*above*), with this first invention of his own. It will improve with Extension engineering aid, but the new devices worked out by villagers are often the most practical.

We should like to think that our Extension Project can bring villagers to the same stage of mental development, though in a very different field of life and work. Our objective seems to us to be just the establishment of a sufficient number of villagers in each village who will carry the torch of increasing knowledge and its application, without any promoting from an Extension Service. They will need to call upon the Extension Service of the future to furnish the new knowledge and skills in easy educational forms. This service to the villages must go on. When we say a 'sufficient' number of villagers is our objective we mean that there must be enough men, women and young persons in each village to overcome the deadweight of a crushing conservatism among the majority; there must be sufficient numbers of strong enough personalities, scattered through the levels of the social order in the villages, to make sure that an Extension Service is thoroughly made use of, even though its Extension agents are no longer village residents. That is our ultimate objective in the Jumna-par Punarnirman.

E. TARGETS AND FLEXIBILITY

The term which is most liable to create confusion out of the four above is 'targets'. This quantitative concept makes for continuity of topics and the emphasis which are placed on them; but it can wreck the essential flexibility of a programme.

The reader will have noticed that we apply the word 'target' to two quite different aspects of the Extension process. In the first place, we use it for the formulation of the routine programme of each Gaon Sathi, because if a quota is set for a circle of 100

villages, where 15 Gaon Sathis are working, fractions of the total target quantity have, sooner or later, to be allocated to particular Gaon Sathis for achievement within a particular field.

We have also used the word 'target' to express our hopes for the rapidity of changes by village people, a more indefinite use of the term, for it is difficult to define the precise criteria which entitle us to say that a changed practice has really been adopted and will last. We have seen many instances where prosperous families have had a bore-hole latrine constructed, apparently only as a monument to good taste—for they never use it.

1. THE DANGERS IN SETTING TARGETS. Let us consider at greater length the points which have just been made with respect to the Gaon Sathis' use of targets and their use as a measurement of progress.

a. *Setting the Gaon Sathi's Routine*. We have discussed in a foregoing section the need for each Gaon Sathi to establish for himself a routine programme. After he and his professional associates and village people have decided what the programme emphases are to be during the current season, the Gaon Sathi must work out a routine programme for the period.

If it has been decided that Pilot demonstrations of line-sowing are to be arranged, one of the questions to be answered is, 'How many?' If the decision is six in each Gaon Sathi's group of villages, then that becomes a target.

Is a continued emphasis to be placed on adult literacy ? Then how much time is to be spent on

this? How many classes are to meet each week in each village? Three? Then that becomes a target.

Used in this sense, targets represent the apportionment of the Gaon Sathi's time among emphases within a particular season. Setting them, and being governed in his routine by them, is a very important part of success for a Gaon Sathi.

b. *Measuring the 'progress' of villagers.* Targets are often employed in a very different part of the Extension process, as a measure of the number of village people who, it is hoped, will actually change a particular practice within a given period of time. This is quite different. This is not a matter of deciding how Gaon Sathis will divide their time. It is a quantitative hope about what village people will do. In addition, it usually becomes a measure of achievement of each Gaon Sathi and of the project as a whole.

There is a great danger in the use of targets in this way. It is likely to shift the whole emphasis away from the quality of the educational pursuit of the Extension Project and toward *securing changed practices by any means*, as the measure of achievement. Instead of the healthful feeling of a Gaon Sathi that 'my job is to inform, to encourage, to help with my own hands, and to befriend the people of my villages, while making sure that the responsibility for any change rests with them', he is likely to shift to the unhealthful attitude that 'my job is to make sure that fifty soak-pits are dug, two

hundred people become literate, and fifty acres of crops are sown in lines, no matter how that result is achieved'. Thus the setting of this kind of target may wrench the whole work of Extension away from the quality of the approach and toward an undue stress on quick results. This would of course destroy any hope of attainment of the objective which we have defined above.

c. *Substituting Indicators for Targets.* However, a running record of the actual number of changed practices resulting from a programme has a positive value when properly understood. UNESCO, in its Fundamental Education literature, has made an important contribution at this point. It speaks of such records as 'indicators'. As indicators of a trend towards a change in attitudes they are very valuable. They may also indicate how rapidly a programme is bearing the fruit of 'changed practices'—but this indicates real achievement in a programme only when the quality of the educational approach is kept high. We may therefore record the number of apparently changed practices by villagers in a particular area over a given period, *not to give us a quantitative measure of achievement,* which we may only loosely call a *target;* but, *instead, to give us an indicator, which carries some quantitative factor from which we may read the trend towards a change in attitudes on the part of the villagers.*

2. THE PRACTICAL USE OF TARGETS, AS INDICATORS AND OTHERWISE. Every Gaon Sathi in the Punarnirman

keeps such a running record of his own activities from day to day. These daily records are summarized at the close of each Project season. These summaries indicate how rapidly things are happening in the Project as a routine, and when using the same methods; yet the numbers of changed practices differ widely, and this is a matter for investigation and discussion. It may be that one Gaon Sathi is much more effective than another; if so, the less effective may be helped to improve his work. Perhaps the difference is due to factors beyond the individual Gaon Sathi's control. (This is one point where an independent evaluation staff can be helpful. It may be able to locate the reason for different indicator figures of changed practices. It may help to discover whether someone is at fault, or whether an unrecognized factor in the situation needs attention.) In any case, used in this way, records of changed practices are indicators; they are aids to good administration, but they are not primarily measures of achievement. Since the subject is a complicated one, we make a recapitulation here of the conclusions so far reached in this Section E.

a. Gaon Sathis use targets as a means of building their daily routine. This is a good use, and an important help towards dividing one's energy wisely among the various emphases of the Extension programme during a particular season.

b. The Project as a whole uses targets as tentative goals, as standards of what we hope can be accomplished by Gaon Sathis and villagers working together within a given time. This is a valid but a dangerous use of targets as such. It is valid for the reason that immediate goals are

always valid : to spur us on, to urge us to keep things moving. It is, at the same time, dangerous, because such targets may tempt us to get results at any cost. This may tempt us to abandon our method of education in favour of what we think is a more direct method. It is better to refer to targets when used for this purpose as Indicators.

c. Some Extension projects use targets (or, more accurately, the percentage of targets actually attained) as measures of achievement. This is the least valid use of all. It makes a prior estimate of reasonable results the test of success or failure. It fails to take account of differences in the difficulty of achievement in different villages or in different circles. It ignores completely differences in the real quality of Extension work involving such questions as :

   (i) How voluntarily did villagers make changes?
   (ii) How fully were alternatives presented?
   (iii) How far, if at all, did pressure by the Gaon Sathi or by influential villagers have a part in the results secured?

   The use of comparison between actual results and the targets set as the measure of achievement hoped for tempts some Gaon Sathis to falsify their records in order to make a good showing.

In the Jumna-par Punarnirman, targets are used in the first two ways listed above, but not in the third.

As mentioned on a previous page, we do record from day to day the number of changed practices related to each emphasis of the programme. At the

end of each season, these numbers of changed practices are compared with the targets we had set of what we hoped would happen within that period. The differences between actual achievement and our hopes with respect to each emphasis are studied. In addition the differences between the number of changed practices in the area assigned to one Gaon Sathi and in that assigned to another are compared. But these comparisons are not a reliable measure of achievement of Gaon Sathis. Rather, they serve two purposes:

1. To test the reasonableness of our targets, and
2. As an indication of points in the programme which either:
   a. need greater attention, or
   b. are meeting more obstacles in some parts of the Project area than in others.

These comparisons are used to help the Gaon Sathis improve their methods. The number of changed practices are indicators of how rapidly changes are occurring, but they must be qualified by other considerations before they have even partial validity as measures of achievement.

3. HOW TO KEEP A PROGRAMME FLEXIBLE, WHILE USING TARGETS AS A FRAMEWORK. Let us come back now to the original question of programme flexibility. Our insistence is that village people must take a full share in deciding what their programme of Extension service is to be. If this is to be achieved in practice, then the Extension project must be administered in such a way that the programme is flexible, can change easily from time to time. Of course, a certain amount of programme uniformity over the whole area of one

Project must be preserved in order to have adequate help from specialists in the subject-matter and methods. But this is a minor qualification, and must never be an excuse for adopting an inflexible programme.

It may seem that the use of targets would conflict with this need for flexibility, and this is a real danger. One might draw the conclusion that one can either (a) allow programme flexibility, or (b) have fixed programme emphases, each represented by a definite target, but not both.

However, it should be recalled that while the village people must take a full share in determining what the programme is to be, one of the contributions of the Extension staff is to ensure that an emphasis once undertaken is not dropped before it has been given a reasonable chance of success. Even in a very flexible programme, targets help at these points. They help keep us on the jobs we have undertaken long enough for success to be attained ; or, in the event of failure, then for all the lessons to be learnt in that hard school.

What is needed is an Extension programme which is sufficiently flexible to allow village people to take a full part in programme planning and to give them the sure knowledge that their suggestions are taken seriously, coupled with sufficient continuity based on the Extension knowledge of the Gaon Sathi, that emphases undertaken can be successfully completed. Targets which are used for the purpose of apportioning the time of the Gaon Sathis among several emphases contribute to developing a routine programme which gives stability and regularity to the programme. One might say that this routine of the Gaon Sathi is the skeleton on which the flesh of the programme grows.

II Budget Flexibility

The financial provisions for carrying out an Extension programme must of course follow the needs of the programme. If what is to be done within the project is subject to changes to meet the expressed needs of village folk, then the budget provisions must be arranged to meet those changes in programme. We recognize the need for preparing an annual budget as an advance estimate of expenditure and also the need to follow the useful convention according to which the expenses are classified under a number of heads within the total budget. Thus each head of expense, and the total of all heads, will be conventionally set at the beginning of each financial year at limiting figures, representing the maximum amount that may be spent under each head and in total of the whole Project. If detailed estimates of expenditure to be incurred, based on forecasts of actual programme operation, can be prepared as a docket on which the budget is based, it is easier to control the changes.

It is essential that this conventional system be followed, particularly by making monthly cumulative totals for each head of the budget, for comparison with the annual figures. It will soon appear if one or the other budget item is tending towards overspending or underspending. A further useful check on overspending is for the keeper of the budget to call for the estimates of the cost of any activity which was not provided for by detailed costing in the docket which supported the original budget.

It may prove necessary to recast the annual budget at least once during the year, since quite considerable changes are likely according to the actual experiences

of the *rabi* or the *kharif* season, whichever began the financial year, so that the activities of the following season, half a year after making the budget, may have to be quite different from what was originally envisaged.

If this practice of revision of the entire budget can be followed, it is easy to keep control over expenditure, head by head. There are three helpful devices which may be adopted, in order to make budgeting and rebudgeting simpler :

1. Set a minimum and maximum amount to the expenditure total under each head. This also helps to indicate where *less* activity than was contemplated is actually taking place.
2. Against each head that seems to require it, where for example it is impossible to make detailed forecasts of expenditure when the budget is drawn, allocate a reserve amount to cover the amounts for which no estimates can be provided. Keep on calling for estimates, and insert them into the budget when obtained, reducing the reserved amounts accordingly.
3. Provide a substantial reserve item, unallocated to any head of expenditure, in the budget total amount. The totals of the maximum and minimum provisions under each head within the budget have very little meaning ; but the reserve for unforeseen expenditure, under any head of expenditure which has not been thought of when the budget was drawn, is a great safeguard.

When it is seen that any head of expenditure will not spend even the minimum allocated, transfer a

suitable amount from that head to any other which shows a tendency to overspending. There are two cardinal principles in keeping a budget flexible :

(a) Never have any barrier between transferring amounts provided from one head to another, so long as the total amount budgeted is not exceeded. Let the total budget be the only criterion of expense for the year.

(b) Just because some amount remains unspent during any financial year, never permit expenditure to be initiated and written off against that 'saving' in order to justify the budget for that year. This is artificial and wasteful. There must always be latitude to transfer amounts underspent in one budget period to a following budget period.

EXAMPLE. An example from the Jumna-par Punar-nirman will illustrate a concrete need for budget flexibility. In the first year's budget there was a small amount provided for work among women. One lady worker was made available to work with those Gaon Sathis who could get at least eight women interested in learning sewing, knitting or other home crafts. At the time of making the budget it was felt that the response from women would not be so much as to justify allocating a large sum. But we were surprised when requests from Gaon Sathis came in asking for the help of the women's work organizer. The response was so overwhelming that we had to appoint three more women workers to meet the demand by the end of the year. This involved an expenditure of about four times the amount allocated in the beginning for women's work.

A revision of the budget was quickly made, whereby some other items for which expenditures were much below the budgeted amount were revised downward and the budget for women's work increased. If it had not been possible to revise the budget during the first year a valuable opportunity to get the village women interested in rural development would have been lost, and the entire project would have suffered a setback.

When the people are ready for a programme, and if we can find the necessary funds by revising the budget, we should not delay by postponing the programme for the following budget year. The villagers simply cannot understand the logic of it.

F. OPENING CHANNELS

Part of the Gaon Sathi's job is to create desire for change in good directions. Many desires for these changes create problems of supply and service which the Gaon Sathi must face. He must be careful to avoid creating any desire until he is sure it can be fulfilled, because unsatisfied desires cause frustrations which in turn result in breaking down the confidence village people place in him, and often build up bitterness and resentment.

Villagers have suffered a good deal from broken promises over the centuries ; and where they are true peasants whose forebears have been tied to the land of a particular region for countless generations, the broken promises of outsiders, or their partly-fulfilled promises, form a hardened grudge. This is one of the reasons why it is so hard to start an Extension service

in India. The Gaon Sathi as he begins his work has first to remove a wall of distrust for all educated persons, especially those who come with promises to the villagers. It would be fatal for an Extension project to lead rural people once again into frustration.

While the Gaon Sathi is vitally concerned about the matter of supply of goods or services, he must not, however be made responsible for it. He cannot mix supply responsibilities or any kind of controlling authority with his educational function without hindering it. Also, if Gaon Sathis were to take over supply or service functions, the demand for these would be so great that they would find very little time for anything else. Therefore, the responsibility for efficient supply must rest with other agencies, either Government or non-Government, or both.

Even now, several agencies exist to supply the villager with the commodities which he needs. He should be encouraged to make full use of these. Thus the Gaon Sathi who is attempting to carry on an educational campaign against smallpox, or any other disease common in Indian villages, should be able to relate his educational programme with the services of the Government vaccinator.[1] The Gaon Sathi who urges villagers to adopt the improved practice of using fertilizer should encourage them to make full use of the Government subsidy and supply available for this purpose.

[1] It so happens that in the Jumna-par Punarnirman Project, we have found a demand for vaccination so great that the Government vaccinators could not cope with it; so we had to get some Gaon Sathis trained and certified as vaccinators to meet the emergency. We would have preferred to avoid this situation, of course.

STRENGTHENING VILLAGE RESOURCES

Local distributors

In the Jumna-par Punarnirman, Gaon Sathis help to bring the things which villagers need to them through the normal channels of supply that already exist. In urging the use of anti-malarial drugs, such as Paludrine, Gaon Sathis turn to local village merchants and persuade them to stock such drugs; since the distribution of consumer goods is their profession, and they know more about it than others. The Gaon Sathis help merchants to realize that in making an essential material available to village people they are able not only to make a reasonable profit, but also can contribute greatly toward making the village a healthier place for themselves, their families, and for other villagers.

The Gaon Sathis should strengthen the existing channels of supply by widening their scope. Thus in the Jumna-par Punarnirman area, dealers in hardware will soon begin to stock agricultural implements; one local merchant plans to sell improved seed.

Local production

The Gaon Sathi should supplement and build up new supply lines in the village. In the Jumna-par area, several villagers who own small gardens have received training in propagation and have been encouraged to build up a supply of nursery stock for fruits and vegetables. Several villagers have been encouraged to keep improved poultry in order to increase the supply of pedigreed setting-eggs in the area.

Technical services

The matter of supply is closely related to that of services. While encouraging villagers to make full use of the existing service agencies, which are mainly Government, Gaon Sathis also set about aiding in the building up of new service agencies to meet new demands. For example, several village masons have been trained in the construction of smokeless *chulhas* and brick slabs on which to wash kitchen utensils.

Hire of special tools

Villagers have been encouraged to rent earth-augers to bore the pits for latrine and improved soak-pit construction, and cyanogas pumps for rat control, so that the practised man can perform these services for other villagers at a fee, thus supplementing his income.

Making village-specialists more efficient

The Gaon Sathi should encourage the improvement of traditional service-agencies. In the Jumna-par area, local *dais* are receiving elementary training in carrying out their work as midwives with greater cleanliness and efficiency. In this training, the co-operation of the Kamla Nehru Hospital and the Kasturba Trust has been liberally given. A special blacksmith's training course is being planned at the request of village *lohars*, so that they can improve the quality of their work and do it at less cost.

While those who can teach others to read are not, strictly speaking, village 'specialists' in the traditional sense, the service rendered by these informal teachers may also be mentioned here. We have arranged a few days of concentrated training in methods of adult

literacy with the co-operation of the staff of Literacy House, Allahabad, to help them do their work with greater effectiveness and satisfaction.

Developing existing agencies first

We emphasize this point because it is not uncommon for a new project to blind itself to existing supply lines and service agencies and to attempt to duplicate them. This gives a false sense of accomplishment since, more often than not, these new supply agencies become more popular because, being on a somewhat smaller scale within the project, they are easier to run and consequently run more efficiently than some existing agencies. It is important to bear in mind the fact that one of the true tests of the effectiveness of an Extension programme is the number of desirable changes that would remain established in the village if the project were to close. The need for making full use of existing supply and service agencies, for strengthening them and for building up new ones within the village itself, are also important in this respect.

In some circumstances, where the existing supply line is very weak, it may be felt that an Extension project *must* undertake to provide it, even knowing that it is a bad arrangement to do so. 'If it is bad to have the Extension project handle supply, then failure of the Extension programme due to lack of supply is worse.' This is the usual argument. It is only a half-truth, for although a programme may be slowed down by poor supply, the real 'failure' of the programme can be traced to other causes. Yet there may be circumstances in which it is justifiable for an Extension project to build up and run a supply line temporarily, while making

every effort to transfer the function to others. In such cases, it is important that two rules be strictly observed:

(1) Prices or fees must cover the full cost, plus somewhat more than the margin that would be reasonable profit to a private merchant or service professional. This makes it possible for private supply lines to develop and it accustoms people to pay fair prices.

(2) Supply and services should be handled by a separate section of the project with its own staff. Gaon Sathis should not be involved in it.

THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT SUPPLY AND DO EVERYTHING

Closely related to this question of supply and service is the fact that these functions cannot fully be served by Government agencies. It is important that both Extension personnel and village people fully appreciate this fact and take steps to strengthen supply and service agencies within the village.

A conference of dealers and tradesmen in a particular project area, which meets to consider supply and service problems, is useful to help in determining which articles and what services will be fully covered by Government agencies and hence those which should be organized by private initiative and with commercial capital. The problems of efficient supply and service agencies are common to rural areas all over India; and perhaps the best way to solve them is for such conferences to work out what the private sector will do, provided it is assured of the minimum interference from the Government. If the findings of tradesmen and

professional persons in several project areas are made public, in the form of an offer to the Government concerned, with a view to demarcating the respective responsibilities, it will then be possible for the rural populations concerned to press their representatives in the legislatures for definite action. This is the democratic process.

Gaps to be filled : Weakness in the supply of goods to village people seems particularly pronounced in the following major fields :

A. *Supplies :*

1. Improved seed
2. Insecticides
3. Agricultural implements
4. Fertilizers

B. *Services :*

1. Medical, including Public Health, especially water-protection and sanitation
2. Building—more skilled masons and carpenters
3. Mechanical—workers skilled in maintenance and repair on a higher level than is found in most cycle-shops
4. Blacksmithery—better skills in riveting, welding, tempering and sharpening
5. Credit and Finance

Some of these supplies and services, such as fertilizers, require technical-aid services also, which must be set up by the commercial supplier. Where tractors or diesel-pumps are useful to villagers, the manufacturers will be required to set up service stations with trained mechanics who can keep their machinery in working order.

VII. GETTING IT ACROSS

No matter how excellent an Extension programme may be, it is a waste of time if it fails to get its purposes across to the people of the village. There is much more to Extension than the disposition of trained personnel, with adequate support and knowledge, in the project area. We are involved in devising educational techniques which really communicate ideas and develop new attitudes. This chapter is about some of the devices and methods of teaching which can replace the early, crude efforts to impart information to village folk.

A. PICKING AND CHOOSING

If a Gaon Sathi tries to work with every man, woman and child in all of the nine or ten villages assigned to him, he cannot possibly give enough time to any one of them to be really effective. Furthermore, it is a matter of verified fact that working with certain groups and through certain channels results in more widespread benefit to all the people of the village than would result from dividing the Gaon Sathi's time equally among everyone. It is true that, in principle, the Gaon Sathi is concerned with everyone regardless of class, creed, sex or prominence. The practical working out of that principle, however, must be guided by these two considerations. In practice, the Gaon Sathi must pick and choose among all of his village friends those individuals or groups through whom the greatest benefit to all may be achieved.

Advantages of working with individuals and groups

1. Individual approach. There are three important advantages of working with individuals :

a. When a Gaon Sathi talks with one individual, or helps one farmer try an experiment, he demonstrates his friendship for that person. Individuals need to feel that they count, that they are personally important, that their friendship is valued by the Gaon Sathi. This evidence of friendship is particularly valuable for persons who have not considered themselves to be anything out of the ordinary, or who have felt inferior to others in the old village pattern.

b. It is individuals, not groups, who learn, who make choices, and who accept responsibilities. It is an individual who learns to read, not a group. It is an individual who swallows anti-malarial tablets, not a group. The effectiveness of a real group responsibility depends upon the willingness of individuals to share in it.

c. Certain individuals have particular influence in determining what others do.[1] A person who exerts such influence needs to be helped to develop and to feel responsible for his own kind of influence. This can be done as the Gaon Sathi recognizes these special talents in individual villagers and helps to cultivate them.

Disadvantages of Individual Approach. Of course, there are disadvantages in working with individuals.

[1] We shall discuss later on this question of leadership in the village, for we do not mean to suggest that we know that there is any one kind of 'leader' among village people. There are several different patterns of influence by some individuals over others, in Indian village societies. This subject is as yet almost unexplored. In Extension we need to know more about these patterns of influence ; Gaon Sathis are in a position to contribute to our knowledge of this subject.

One is that it takes a great deal of time. Another is that, unless the Gaon Sathi is careful, he may be charged with favouritism. These disadvantages must be taken into account, but they must not be allowed to overshadow the important advantages of working with persons one by one. An easy practice which helps to make people feel that they are important as individuals, and which, at the same time, helps to ward off criticisms of 'favouritism', is for the Gaon Sathi to give a friendly greeting to everyone whom he meets, using the person's name whenever possible.

2. Group approach. There are three important advantages of working with groups:

a. Only to a limited degree are individuals independent of the groups of which they are a part. To a large extent, they are limited in their choices to actions acceptable to the whole group. They must maintain good relationship within their families, *gotra*, caste, or other occupational group. They need to feel accepted and approved by their village friends and associates, just as much as they need to feel that they are important as individuals. The reputation for level-headed action according to established patterns is of enormous importance to an Indian villager. Having been accustomed for so long to living by the traditions of the family and of the village, individuals find it difficult to make personal choices unless the whole group understands and is considering making similar choices.

b. Some needed choices in village life cannot be made until it is at least the majority wish of a group. One man cannot provide a school for small children. One man cannot widen a village road. One man cannot

control flies or mosquitoes. Many such improvements require group action. If the Gaon Sathi works with the whole group together, he not only prepares individuals to join in the action, but he also helps to evolve the group organization which can carry it through, and he helps to resolve the conflicts of opinion which might delay the change.

c. When the Gaon Sathi works with groups of people, he can reach more people in the same time. This is true, but the time saved is easily exaggerated. It takes a good deal of time and energy just to get a group of people together. Often a Gaon Sathi could meet eight people separately in the time it takes to get them together, including the wait for them all to arrive.

Common errors in group approach. Here, too, certain mistakes must be avoided. It is a mistake to assume that the groups which were formerly influential will still be the most effective in bringing a change into village life. Specifically, it is not caste-groups which should be met with separately, but a group of persons who are actually involved in a particular decision. For example, in widening a particular road, the people who live along the road, and those who need to use it, are the groups involved, regardless of what their other social relationships may be.

Strategic units with which to work. There are four strategic units with which the Gaon Sathi should work. These are (1) individuals, (2) families, (3) occupational groups, and (4) youth.

1. *Individuals.* The importance of working with individuals has already been discussed. It should always

be a prominent part of the work of each Gaon Sathi. Even in programmes for groups, it is necessary to hold preliminary conversations with individuals in order to arrange meetings and to secure adequate attendance.

2. *Families.* The family is the basic social unit of the village. Many vital decisions are made by it, and it exercises great influence on each of its members. In most parts of India, family decisions are reflected throughout the *gotra* or other kinship groups extending over hundreds of villages. This is a factor to be provided for by simplifying family decisions which involve change of habit. With simple enough forms of communication, a family decision to change in half-a-dozen villages will spread along the kinship lines and will break the ground for the same change often in hundreds of other villages.

Theoretically, contacts with whole families should make up a major part of the programme of each Gaon Sathi. But in practice, and particularly in the beginning, the Gaon Sathi (including women Gaon Sathis and the wives of Gaon Sathis) may have to meet separately with husbands and with wives, in occupational groups, and with young people in youth organizations. It is with family groups that the husband-and-wife Gaon Sathi couple would appear to have its greatest ultimate advantage, as family-visiting is easier and more natural for them.

Our experience, however, in the Jumna-par Punarnirman is that many male Gaon Sathis have soon reached a basis of friendship with family units, so that matters of interest to all members of a family can be discussed with all, together. A decision to purchase a new plough

affects the whole family no less than the trial of a new food or the installation of a smokeless *chulha*. The question of whether a son or daughter is to go to school is a family matter, since it affects the amount of labour available for the fields, or for the home. Many other such decisions affect the whole family, so need to be understood by all of its members.

3. *Occupational groups*. There are so many of these, and each has its own function ; therefore, each needs to be discussed separately.

a. HOUSEWIVES. The largest and most important occupational group in any village is composed of the housewives. Practically all village women are in this group, while their husbands are divided among many occupations. All of these women need the same skills; all of them deal with the same problems.

Their initial interests in this project area have been in learning to knit, to cut out blouses for themselves and clothing for children, and to sew. Many soon say they want to learn to read. Home hygiene, treatment of simple injuries and illnesses, the preparation of food in ways which retain food values, are subjects about which all need to know more.

Although Indian tradition tends to keep women in the background, an Extension programme must give primary attention to them if it is to succeed. It is not only that women all share the important interests and functions listed above, but they are affected by the decisions which their husbands, brothers, and sons make in other fields, and very often they have a decisive influence on their men in these matters.

It should be emphasized that women must be given a full place in those parts of the Extension programme which deal with whole-family matters as well as in programmes related to their occupational tasks as housewives. They are not to be segregated in a 'women's section' of the programme. At the same time, women do share many special interests as wives and mothers, and these can best be met by special women's groups within the Extension programme activities.

At the present time, four methods are used to meet the needs of women in the Jumna-par Punarnirman:

(1) All Gaon Sathis, in their periodic training conferences, discuss and acquire for themselves the new skills first needed by village women, as part of their regular in-service training.

(2) Gaon Sathis try to become friends with family units and discuss problems of agriculture, education, and health with whole families, whenever possible.

(3) A special corps of women specialists visits selected villages in each circle regularly, accompanied usually by the local Gaon Sathi, teaching women new skills (and incidentally teaching these to Gaon Sathis also). Naturally, many subjects besides the new skills come up for discussion at these practical teaching sessions.

(4) Included among the Gaon Sathis are some couples in which both husband and wife are employed to serve jointly. The wife is as much a Gaon Sathi as her husband, and she takes her turn to preside at circle meetings and at training conferences. This is an experiment to see whether such couples are more efficient, not only in programmes for women but throughout the whole programme of the Punarnirman.

b. CULTIVATORS. Second in point of numbers only to housewives is the occupational group of cultivators. Most men of the village, including most artisans and some merchants, are farmers. This explains why agricultural matters are so large a part of an Extension programme. Farmers can be brought together for demonstrations, sight-seeing trips to visit especially good fields in other villages. The conducted tour can be used to widen the horizon of all village folk. For farmers, the informed inspection of public works such as irrigation systems, stations for cattle-breeding or milk collection and supply have direct interest.

c. CRAFTSMEN. To implement many desirable changes, the services of carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, or potters are needed. Carpenters can learn how to make a simple windlass for a well, which plays a valuable part in assuring a clean water-supply. But the Gaon Sathi will first have to raise the villagers' demand for such a windlass. Improved ploughs must be sharpened, so blacksmiths need to know how to do it. The mason can construct the covers of latrines ; he can also work out better containers in which to store the grain ; or this may fall more within the potter's sphere. In every case, though, the Gaon Sathi will have to urge the craftsman to acquire new techniques ; and he will have to show that a demand from the villagers nearby can be built up which will require a skilled man for the extra work.

The Extension programme should include provision for teaching these new skills to village craftsmen. Short courses of one or two days' duration have been found to be effective for this, teaching only one skill in one short course. Sometimes one centralized short

course is sufficient ; in other instances several identical short courses in different parts of the project area are more effective. However the training is given, it is far better to build up the village craftsmen with these skills than it is for the project to try to provide such services itself. Once a certain skill is transferred to village craftsmen the project can forget it and go on to other matters.

d. SMALL INDUSTRIES. Besides the individual craftsmen, there are the manufacturers for local consumption and the service-concerns which will now be more encouraged in the villages, by the Government. These may or may not work with some kind of mechanical power. Instances are the oil-crusher, the flour-miller, the weaver and the shepherd. To these traditional services, power-factories on a larger scale may be added, such as those which would make diesel pumping sets ; or diesel-electric generators for village use.[1]

The traditional village industries can be directly encouraged by the Gaon Sathi to achieve greater efficiency, and thus to do the work required at less cost to the villager by making the market for the goods or services wider, adding further villages within the Gaon Sathi's assignment. The new village industries, which may work with power, can be helped to fit into the village society by the good offices of the Gaon Sathi.

[1] It is notable that, after 2½ years of widespread Extension work in northern India, engineers are in extremely short supply among the Extension workers available. People concerned with rural development in the past used to complain that doctors could not be induced to settle into village work. This is still true, though there are some hospitals. But, as lack of doctors is a bottle-neck for developing better health, so a continued lack of engineers will hamper all economic advance in rural India.

e. MERCHANTS. New ways of village life call for new materials and equipment; medicines, insecticides, implements, bred seeds. It is the function of village tradesmen to make available in the bazaars the things which people want to buy. As the Extension programme creates new needs and new desires, the Supply and Services Section of the project should confer with village merchants about the best ways to make goods available and try to build up the existing village supply-line rather than create artificial competition from within the project's organization.

f. MIDWIVES. This occupational group is of great importance. As has been mentioned previously, one of the earliest requests of the village people near Allahabad for an improvement was that their *dais* should be trained. Fortunately, this is a major activity of the Kasturba Trust. The personal honorary service of the Medical Superintendent of the Kamla Nehru Hospital in Allahabad has made possible training for midwives in the villages of the Punarnirman area. Gaon Sathis arranged for this training.

Thus, special parts of the Extension programme designed for occupational groups in the villages are of major importance. In this way Extension is brought to everyone in the subjects which interest each one the most. It helps villagers to see the importance which each occupational group has for each of the others. It builds facilities of service within the village itself, without further dependence on outside agencies.

4. *Youth Groups*. The fourth strategic unit with which an Extension programme should work is with the children and young people. These are the India of

the future. They have their own interests and they already express free choice in the games they play. A Gaon Sathi can widen the field of choice. Though children and adolescents are members of families along with adults, they like to engage in activities with others near their own age.

Within the culture-patterns of India, the older members of any group are listened to with great respect. Sometimes this authority of age is overdone. Then the young people, often burning with enthusiasm and desire to help their families and to improve village living as a whole, are not given an opportunity to use their constructive energy and enthusiasm. Consequently they either take up destructive activities or become apathetic to the village conditions. The Gaon Sathi must respect the dominance of age where it is a defined culture-pattern ; but at the same time he can provide better outlets for youth's energy and enthusiasm in such activities as building a volley-ball court, establishing a library, or suggesting new games of constructive competition, in which skill, intelligence and co-ordination are factors. The young men and the children in one village of the Punarnirman have actually built a school house for themselves.

In many countries of the world, rural young people have joined in such groups as the American 4-H Clubs, Young Farmers' Clubs, the *Faucon Rouge* of Belgium, all organizations which combine certain common features :

(1) They study, usually through projects, occupational skills which they may need as adults.

(2) They engage in recreational activities which they enjoy.

(3) They are organized democratically, with their own elected officers, thus getting practical experience in the process of good government.

In the Jumna-par Punarnirman, we are developing a youth organization which we are calling the *Kamal Dal*. The name comes from the combination of the initial letters of the three Hindi words :

क Kar—meaning work
म Man—meaning mind
ल Lochan—meaning eyes.

The word *kamal* itself means lotus, and this flower, with its traditional significance in India, has become the symbol of the *dal*, or group.

This organization is just now becoming well-established. It is being organized and guided by Gaon Sathis, including one who came back from an International Youth Exchange trip full of enthusiasm for this type of work. A two-day rally of over a hundred boys, representatives of the *Kamal Dals* in ninety villages, met in a grove of trees, where they lived together, preparing their own food, learning about vegetable cultivation, and joining in a camp-fire at which the boys from each Gaon Sathi's area presented features of entertainment.

Village factions

There is one kind of village group which we have not included among the four with which the Gaon Sathi works. Yet it is often one of the Gaon Sathi's greatest trials. Village factions seem to be everywhere. If a Gaon Sathi knowingly or unknowingly aligns himself with one faction, members of others will have nothing to do with him. He must continually be on

guard against this happening, and he must refuse to become a part of factional quarrels. On the constructive side, by trying to bring together groups which cut across factional lines, he can help to weaken this terrible curse of village life.[1]

Working through effective channels

A great deal is found in the Extension literature of many countries about finding village leaders and working through them. The argument is that certain persons in each locality have great influence on their fellows, that an Extension project is much more successful when it discovers who these people are and works primarily through them, and that often the failure of a programme can be traced to failure to do this, sometimes because the 'leaders' feel slighted and work against the programme.

There is much truth in this. Unquestionably some individuals usually lead and others usually follow. It is important that an Extension project learn about such patterns of influence in its area, and work through effective channels. But this is far more difficult than it sounds. Nowhere are such patterns of influence simple ; they are very complex. And particularly in India we do not have much dependable knowledge about this yet and need to feel our way carefully.

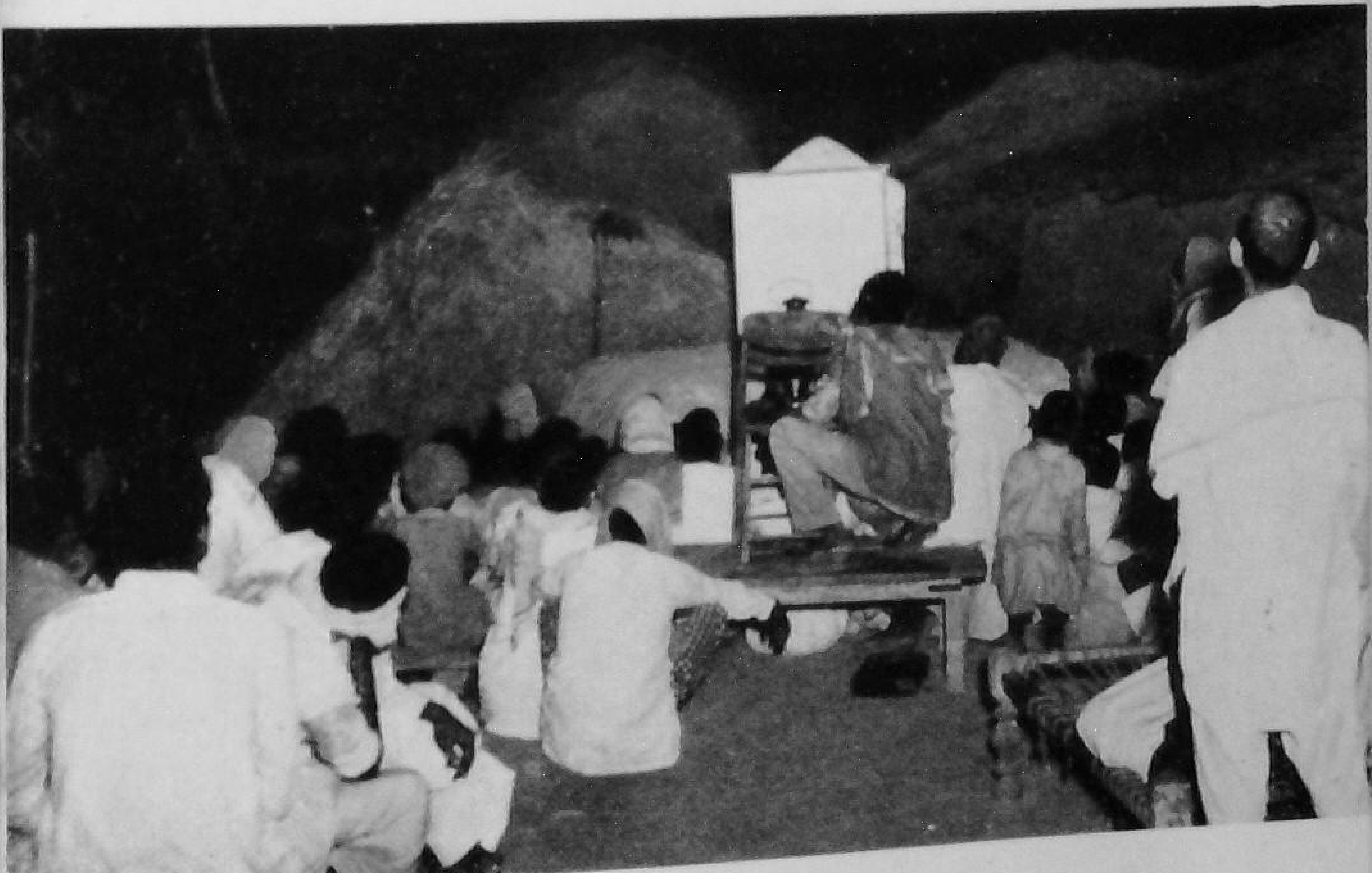
[1] The veil of our ignorance of the social patterns (and even of the broader culture-patterns) of India has been lifted at one or two corners by recent studies. Dr Oscar Lewis, an anthropologist with the Ford Foundation, has thrown much light on the structure of factions in one North Indian village. His popular paper 'Group Dynamics in a North Indian Village' (published by the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission, 1954) contains the germ of means by which Extension workers can put factions to useful, constructive action, in spite of, or because of their separatist nature.

We are even lacking any definition of leadership which can be applied in rural India. It seems as if the studies of social anthropologists would show a bewildering variety of 'leaders', each recognized for a very different purpose of group decisions. This structure, we know, is extremely different in different parts of India. It is most unsafe to rely on knowledge gained practically by Gaon Sathis in our project for application elsewhere.

For example, it is easy to assume that the titular heads of the higher castes are the leaders. However, the times are changing, and in many instances these men do not have the prestige today which they once had. Apart from his fading prestige today, the authority of a *mukhia* or of a *yajaman* (caste-head) in a village has always been strictly circumscribed. Again, it seems natural to suppose that the *sarpanch*, or village headman, is leader. But many younger men do not follow their elders as willingly as they did formerly. These patterns of influence change and one must hesitate before jumping to easy conclusions.

The Gaon Sathi should ask himself: 'Who in this village is most likely to try a new method?' Is it the man to whom others look as being wise, as having good judgement? Part of the reputation of such men is based on their caution; they are likely not to try something new until it has been thoroughly tested. It is hard to talk such a man into trying something new.

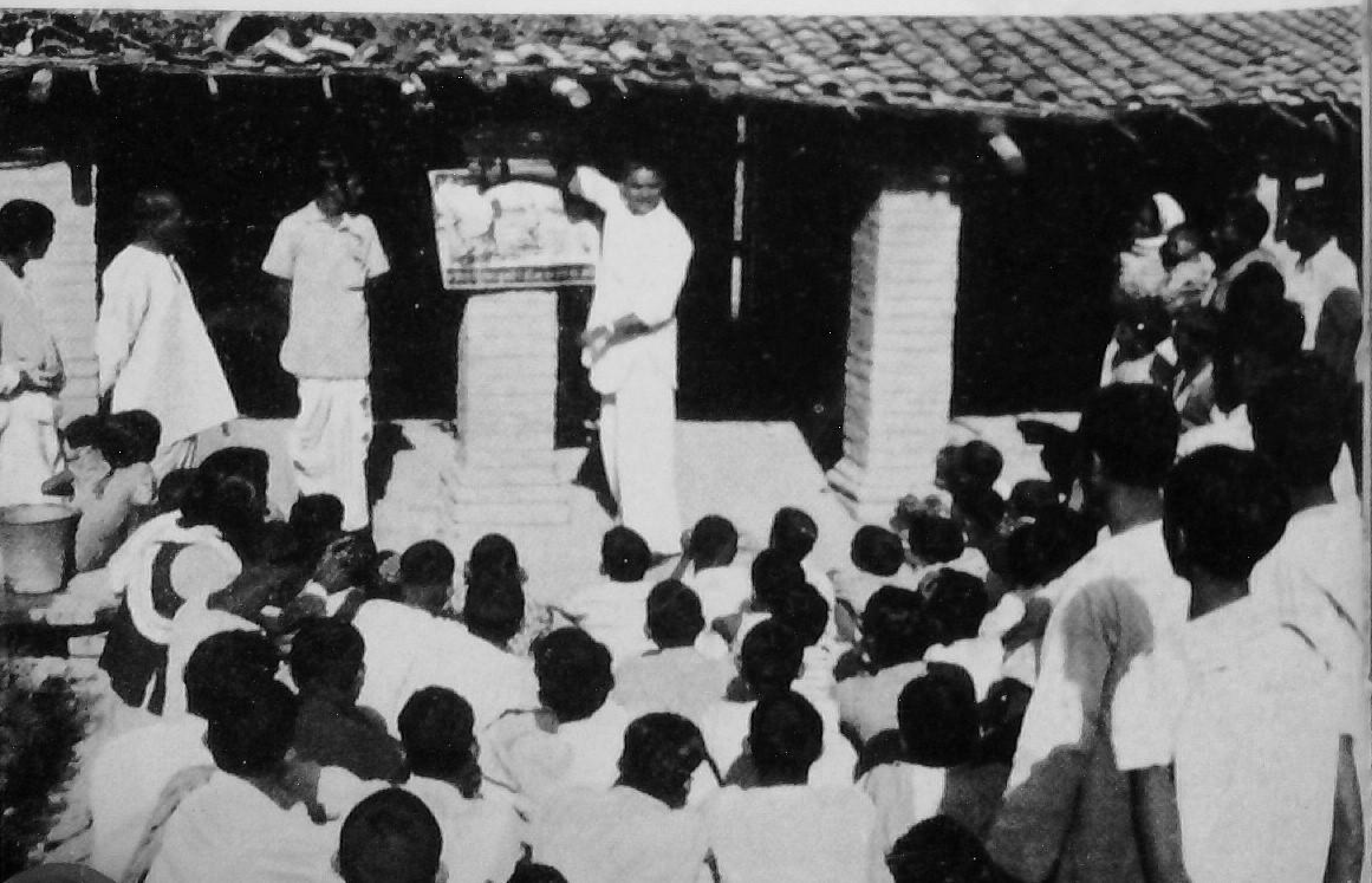
On the other hand, an exceptional man who is dissatisfied with his position in the village, who wants, but does not get, recognition, is more willing to try something new. He may feel that by introducing something new he will get the attention which he craves.



FILMSTRIP. Just after dark, a large group of villagers can collect. All the men are available then. The filmstrip shows pictures one by one, on a screen. They can be shown over again, in any order. They can be studied, and discussed with the Gaon Sathi, and make new ideas easier to grasp.

FLASHCARDS. The Gaon Sathi tells his story to the villagers. First he shows them the pictures (*right*), then he passes them round the circle. As they study the pictures in their hands, some members of a small group will find some question to ask, some objection to raise; and so begins a discussion.

POSTERS. When the group is too large to pass flashcards round, visual interest is added by a poster. The picture helps the listening villagers to form their own ideas on the subject; it also gives the Gaon Sathi a focus for his talk, and makes it less like a lecture.



The man who adopts a new practice does not do so because he wants to be recognized as a leader; nor will it cause others to recognize him as a leader. If his departure from the usual works well, he will, however, get the *attention* he deserves. The man who is already recognized as a sound, quiet fellow is probably the logical choice to put on an experimental demonstration. He is more likely than others to be wealthy enough to be able to take a chance. If the demonstration succeeds, he will recommend it to others and his prestige will help. In this sense, it is easy to find a 'leader' but hard to persuade him to try a new practice.

But there appears to be good logic also in a procedure which is nearly the opposite of this. It is the principle advocated at Martandam in Travancore many years ago: 'Work with the poorest. If they adopt a new practice and it is proved good, the wealthier members of the village will adopt it. But if you work first with the wealthy, even though the practice succeeds, poorer men will say: "He is wealthy; he can do that; but I am too poor to do likewise".'

Every village has its joker, the man who pokes fun at everything he can. He has his own unique influence, and it is strong. If he ridicules a new practice, he turns men against it. But if he is converted to it, he will ridicule those who are slow to adopt it. He is a good man for the Gaon Sathi to have on his side.

The money-lender, only in theory abolished, is another man whose will and prejudice can obstruct a new practice. It is well for the Gaon Sathi to make friends with this personage; he can often appreciate many of the reasons which underlie the suggestions made by Extension.

Thus the experience of working in a village soon teaches us that there is not just one leader through whom the Extension programme can be advanced. Rather, there are many kinds of influence wielded by different kinds of men in each village. These various influences make some channels of Extension work more effective than others. Every Gaon Sathi needs to be alert to these and try to divide his attention among all in such a way that each type of influence can support the Extension programme and speed the progress of improved living in the village.

B. TALKING IT OVER

All but one of the strategic units discussed in the foregoing section are *groups* of people. How is the Gaon Sathi to work with them ? One principle is clear. He must not lecture. The natural method of communication in the village is conversation. The only 'lecture' village people ever hear is an occasional political speech, usually at election time. The lecture is the method of one who comes to sell an idea, and that process is itself foreign to the village. Among villagers themselves, casual conversation is the universal method of passing along items of news or new information. Even the *panchayat* and other village groups, meeting for a specific purpose, discuss their business casually and informally.

This is one of the very sound parts of village tradition. In some other cultures, special efforts have to be made to outlaw speeches in Extension projects ; here we have only to follow the sound tradition of the village.

Unfortunately, while the normal village method here is sound, it has not been followed in many rural development programmes. That is one reason they have not been more successful. Too many times, those seeking to help village people have gone about saying, 'You should do this', and 'You should do that', and making speeches to village people about how they ought to change their ways. Such programmes have been ineffective.

FREE DISCUSSION. When a group is specially brought together to discuss a particular topic the method of free discussion among adult equals should be retained.

1. Free discussion is more fruitful when it is guided. This does not mean that the discussion is a sham; it does not mean that the Gaon Sathi tries to determine the decision. It does mean that someone in the group thinks about the discussion as it progresses and sees to it that certain procedures are followed:

a. *It is important that everyone present take part in the discussion.* Unless care is taken, a few people are likely to do most of the talking. Unless they are called on, many people will not speak up. The Gaon Sathi can help by asking the opinion of those individuals who otherwise keep quiet. He can help by trying tactfully to cut off the remarks of one person when these become too long or too frequent. Only thus can the opinions of all be known.

b. *It is important that a discussion end with plans for the future.* Sometimes a discussion reaches the point at which a decision can be made. If so, the decision should be made clear, and recorded,

and plans made to carry it out. At other times, no conclusion is reached, and in such cases plans usually should be made for a future meeting to continue the discussion. A discussion should always be summarized at the end so that everyone goes away feeling that progress has been made.

The old-style village *panchayat* (not the caste *panchayat*), which assembled everyone in the village who wished to attend, when matters of common interest were to be decided, is one of the ancestors of the discussion group just described. The full *panchayat* had two disadvantages: that the most assertive people were always inclined to be the only ones left talking in the end; and that often no decision for action was taken, nor were any plans made to meet again. The group guided by Extension workers may be just as all-embracing; but it will correct these two failings, as has been indicated in the two preceding paragraphs.

2. Free discussion is a sound method of adult education. Children in school expect to be instructed by their teacher. That is because the teachers are older, and children take it for granted that their teachers have had more experience. But in adult education, the 'teacher' is often younger than many of his 'pupils'. He is not even more experienced, in general, than are they. He is simply another member of the group, with not more, but a different kind of experience. He is on sound ground when he raises a topic for free discussion, telling what he has seen on a research farm in the same manner in which returning pilgrims tell of a *mela* they have visited.

Part of that faith in people which is the first basic element in good Extension is confidence that they can make sound decisions when they know the facts. The capable Gaon Sathi brings new facts into village discussions, but he does not alter the village habit of discussion. He participates as an adult among adults, injecting facts but leaving the group free to reach its own conclusions.

3. Appropriate groups need to be gathered into meetings to engage in free discussion. While the village tradition of casual discussion is sound, it needs to be shaped to meet modern needs. Usually, conversation goes on among whatever group of people happens to come together. These groups are haphazard; seldom are they groups of those specially interested in particular problems. While on many occasions Gaon Sathis ought to participate in such casual discussions, they need at other times to get special groups together. These will often correspond to the strategic units discussed on pages 118-26.

4. Village participation in programme planning is a natural outgrowth of free discussion. When people have become accustomed to discussion in which the Gaon Sathi shares equally with them, the participation of village people in programme planning takes place automatically, unless the administrators of a project stifle it by lack of flexibility. As people counsel together about how to solve problems they naturally bring in new topics for discussion. If the Gaon Sathi is sympathetic and helps examine each suggestion carefully, this can become the basis for further activities and a real 'villagers' programme' has been promoted.

Three additional measures have been adopted in the Punarnirman to increase village participation in programme planning :

CIRCLE MEETINGS. The frequent assemblies of the Gaon Sathis in each circle are held out-of-doors, in a different village each time. The Gaon Sathis sit in a circle, discussing their programme, and their problems, and making arrangements for the next ten days' activities. This itself is an example of well-organized group discussion to the many village people who sit or stand nearby, watching and listening. They thus see how the project operates ; there are no secrets. And near the end of each Circle Meeting, the onlookers are invited to comment on the discussions and to make suggestions. Out of this audience-participation in Circle Meetings come many ideas for future village discussions, and many suggestions for new items in the programme.

GAON SATHIS' TRAINING. In the initial two-weeks' training conference for Gaon Sathis, a few villagers were invited to take part and a special period was set aside each half-day for them to comment on what they heard going on. Thus, from the very beginning, Gaon Sathis learnt to take it for granted that village people are to have a full share in project administration.

In subsequent in-service training conferences which are now regularly held at the Dandi village centre of the Jumna-par Punarnirman project, several village observers are invited to attend and to participate in the discussions.

GAON SAMMELANS. At these gatherings which involve from eighteen to thirty villages at a time for a half-day's programme of demonstration, games, and competitions,

the programme ends with a general meeting and discussion. A villager acts as chairman at this general meeting and resolutions are presented for discussion and approval by people from villages represented in the *sammelan*. These resolutions express the need of those villages for assistance, their reactions to development activities, and suggestions for future activities. The project activities are modified in the light of these resolutions. When Government assistance is sought, the resolution is forwarded with a recommendation to the department concerned. This helps in keeping the programmes linked closely with village needs and gives village people a feeling of greater participation in a programme that is largely of their own making.

Such free discussion becomes the basis, and the method, for increasing village participation in planning the programme of a project. When village people are welcome at all administrative meetings of a project they have greater confidence in it. By being invited to participate in such meetings they know that their suggestions are valued and are effective. As they see the project building its programme around their proposals they realize that it is not something imposed from outside but is in reality an orderly arrangement to help them solve their own problems.

C. FROM THE GROUND UP

In the new effort to develop the rural life of India, we have only scratched the surface. A great deal of hard work must yet be done to carry this programme to its final goal. But it is obvious that it is neither desirable nor possible to send enough Extension

workers into all the villages of India to get the job done. Rural development can only work out if village people themselves take over some of the promotion of improvements as soon as enough people in the village have a firm grasp of them. It is up to villagers themselves to adapt the new knowledge to their use, and to spread the new practices throughout the village.

The simpler new practices which are introduced by Gaon Sathis in the early part of an Extension project must soon be handled by those villagers (a) who find they are ready to take the initiative towards further mobilization of resources within the village, even if some of these, like chemical fertilizers, have to be brought in from the outside, and (b) by those who are willing to help the Gaon Sathi as his *associates* to work out tests of new practices which he suggests, and to be channels through which messages and new propositions reach other villagers.

Only when villagers with such initiative take over the task of persuading their neighbours to adopt these simpler new practices will it be possible for Extension to get ahead with education in the more complex changes which are necessary.

Developing village initiative is important for another reason. Villagers are accustomed to rely on habits and practices which require no free choice and little or no independent thinking. Progress in the village is blocked by this deeply-rooted pattern of behaviour. The educational effort of Extension to help village people to look for alternatives in resources and methods, instead of relying on force of habit or tradition, must continue until force of habit has been replaced by a more rational use among villagers

of all resources and by a search for further resources.

I *Village Initiative*

One thing is clear and that is that village initiative cannot be forced or imposed. It can only be encouraged and set free. This is one reason why its development takes time in a new Extension project and does not make itself evident until perhaps the second year. We have found this to be the case in the Jumna-par Punarnirman.

Actually, the Jumna-par Punarnirman project is in a better position to develop village initiative than are some other Extension projects. The Punarnirman has never, like them, undertaken the supply of goods and services for which a demand has been created; we have tried to place much of this burden on the shoulders of village people. Written into the Gaon Sathi's Creed are the words: 'I believe in village people, in their ability to solve their own problems and in their power to develop their lives.' In carrying this into action, Gaon Sathis create a demand and then help village people to meet this demand by using their own initiative. Thus an attempt is made to build up and strengthen supply and service lines right in the village.

EXAMPLES: It has previously been pointed out that when a demand for anti-malaria measures is created, village initiative is developed by suggesting to village merchants that they should carry DDT (Gammexane) powder and anti-malarial drugs (Paludrine) in their stocks. Again, when a demand for rat-control action is created, some villagers are encouraged to rent or purchase cyanogas pumps, and to undertake

to exterminate rats for other villagers on a contract basis. The above refers to efforts to develop village initiative to meet the demands created by Gaon Sathis.

Village initiative may also be developed in changes which have not been promoted in the Extension programme, and the Gaon Sathi must be alert and sensitive to signs of rising village initiative so that he may help it to achieve its object. For example, the opening of village libraries was not planned within the first year's programme of the Punarnirman. Yet a number of villagers very soon began discussing such a move, and actually thirty-one libraries were opened within the first year. Another example, an unprompted achievement by village initiative, is the village protection squad which patrols at night to discourage thieves. Likewise, the improvement of village roads was not an item in the programme. But village groups began talking about it and organized themselves to undertake it. Gaon Sathis of course joined in planning this activity, which was entirely carried through by village people.

The project gave no subsidy to these new village activities. But, as soon as Gaon Sathis found people ready to do something new, the help of all suitably experienced Extension staff was available to those villagers, so that their fresh effort got proper organization, and technical aid.

How to develop village initiative : Perhaps, after all, this is the most important statement to be made about developing village initiative, that it cannot be forced, it can only be recognized and nurtured. That is not entirely true, for it can be developed by proposing that

people rely on their own efforts whenever they suggest calling in an outside agency.

There are two ways to make roaring fire out of a tiny flame. One is to pour petrol on it ; the other is to blow on it steadily while it becomes stronger and stronger. Similarly, one way to treat a flicker of interest in a needed improvement is to call in a Government agency, or pour in outside resources to build a school or dig a well. The other way is to blow with a steady confidence in village people so that the small flame of their interest becomes a furnace in which all difficulties are consumed, and which provides the steam to get the job done through local resources.

Village initiative cannot be created by talking about it ; a common need is recognized so strongly that the more energetic villagers will try to fill it by themselves. Gaon Sathis must see such common demands producing a desire for action. They can then encourage those villagers who look as if they may take the initiative. A steadfast confidence and realistic, possibly expert organization of the villagers' efforts will then identify the Extension service with the people's own interests. Thereafter the Extension staff may be able to help in many ways, firstly by having a programme flexible enough to meet such unexpected demands for help.

The capacity to develop both village initiative and unpaid associates lies perhaps primarily (a) in the basic belief that they do exist, (b) in their discovery or identification, and (c) in the fostering of their growth. For all three factors to operate, the first essential is the qualities of the Gaon Sathis which have been described in earlier chapters, followed by the unstinted support

of any enthusiasm which village people show, by other Extension personnel.

II Unpaid Associates

While the development of unpaid associates is important, one must recognize the fact that the programme cannot depend largely on such helpers. One wishes there were more such enthusiastic workers in the villages but one also realizes that it would be wrong to depend entirely on their selfless qualities to move the programme forward. Our villages are not lacking in people who will give their time and effort for the sake of development work which will help their village, but even these people must perforce limit their share in the common work, because most of their time and energy must go to the regular occupations by which they earn their livelihood.

In most villages, Extension workers find several types of unpaid associates who vary in the time they can give and the interest they have in the task of common development. An attempt is made to list some of these below :

1. Those who help because they are genuinely interested in the programme ; they want to have a part in it, and can spare the time to do so. The true village *netas* who have the zeal and time to give in voluntary service to development work are always sufficiently well off to have no anxieties about their livelihood.
2. Those who help because they feel they should, because their position requires it of them.
3. Those who help because they feel they have to, whether or not they want to do so.

4. Those who help simply because of the importance they get from being associated with the programme.

5. Those who help in the hope that, by doing so, they will increase their chances of being absorbed on the paid staff of the project. These are perhaps the most temporary.

6. Those who help because it is the popular thing to do, because everybody else is doing it. Too often *Shramdan* projects include a large proportion of such helpers.

7. Those who because of other duties can give only a small proportion of their time, but this small proportion they give willingly and happily. They help because they want to help.

Of the above it is obvious that it is the first group which can give most time to the programme. Unfortunately this group is by far in the minority.

Where to look for village helpers. It is in the positions next listed that one is most likely to find unpaid associates in villages:

1. *Office-bearers of Local Self-Government bodies*, such as the village *Panchayat*, *Gaon Samaj*, District Boards.

2. *Representatives of State Government Agencies*, especially the District Planning Officer's group, Vaccinators, Stockmen, Sanitary Inspectors, Health Visitors, Seed Store Supervisors, Veterinary Surgeons, *Prantiya Raksha Dal* workers, Agricultural Inspectors, Development Officers for Horticulture, Crafts and other specialists. *Harijan* Officers.

3. *Local Officers of the State Revenue Department—Lekhpal, Tehsildar, Naib Tehsildar, Kanungo.*

4. *Village Youth Groups—Kamal Dal*, Scouts, *Seva Samiti*.
5. *Village Schoolmasters*.
6. *College or High School Students*, some of whom may be fairly regular visitors.
7. *Outstanding Village Personalities*—usually farmers or merchants.

Then there are those who do not belong to the village but who will pay usually occasional visits to help in forwarding an Extension programme. Members of *Seva Samitis*, doctors and nurses, visiting teachers from universities and colleges, experts from industries, representatives from Government Departments, and other welfare organizations are usual examples. It is important that the Gaon Sathi recognize that all these and perhaps other unclassified groups exist. His job therefore is to secure maximum help from all groups, and through a process of education to create in the minds of village people a desire to give more of their time for the development of their own homes and their village.

The Jumna-par Punarnirman project has from time to time been assisted in varying degrees by all the groups mentioned above. In *Melas, Gaon Sammelans*, and Circle Meetings all sorts of people have come in and given substantial help.

The help given towards running an Eye Relief Camp was particularly broad-based. Voluntary cash contributions amounted to about Rs 300. Contributions in kind from villagers took the form of gifts of free grain and milk for patients. Milk supply for patients was organized by an enthusiastic youth group, led by a village *sarpanch*. Another group of young men volunteered to serve as male nurses.

Kisani Melas, *Gaon Sammelans* and local village *Jalsas* are run partly on contributions in cash, in kind and by voluntary service from the same groups as are mentioned above. Each of these gatherings is organized by a committee consisting of unpaid village-associates with a few members of our project staff. Attempts are made to encourage such voluntary help by giving recognition to the volunteers in the form of certificates, letters of appreciation, and mention in the project's village newspaper, *Hamar Gaon*.

As with village initiative, unpaid associates cannot be forced. When they appear, they can be encouraged and sometimes spurred to dynamic collaboration with Extension personnel. If the programme of rural development is to rise from village people, greater responsibility must be increasingly assumed by them, and this will surely happen if the emphases in programme are correct. Therefore the growth of both village initiative and of unpaid associates is an indicator of a progressive Extension project, in terms of the people's desires and their capacities to satisfy them.

D. SEEING IS BELIEVING

In this section, we are discussing some of the *techniques* of communication which are available to the Extension worker as he sets about stimulating the interest of village people in new ideas and new ways of doing things. In the next section we shall say something about the *skilful use* of these teaching methods and materials.

The village world of India has great profundities of practical wisdom, but it is narrow in scope. Village

practices tend to become hard-and-fast rules. Villagers do not want to work things out from first principles; they prefer to be guided by custom, because it seems safer than to try something new.

The sort of knowledge which has to be communicated from outside the village is not established anywhere by custom; it does not have the sanction of the *Puranas*. Extension carries to the villages a fresh kind of knowledge: rational, drawn from concrete, measurable facts. These facts are sometimes found out by trial-and-error procedure, and sometimes from controlled experiments, which have been carried out to verify a hypothesis.

Villagers will easily follow a trial-and-error demonstration; but the thinking behind the controlled experiment method is quite outside the range of their experience. All experiments within a village must therefore be on the basis of concrete comparisons. Villagers must *see* to believe; a verbal argument, no matter how logical, is not convincing. A talk on the advantages of the Japanese method of paddy cultivation may arouse a mild interest, but most villagers must *see* results before they are willing to try the method for themselves.

Most of the evidence which supports our more advanced scientific findings is simply not fact to villagers. The physical sciences which reveal better methods of agriculture, of securing health and of manufacturing things, often rely on evidence which is based on observations through a microscope, or through some other ingenious means of extending ordinary human perceptions. Villagers have no experience of this view of the world. There is no means of leading

them through the whole logical chain of scientific thinking and its operations through instruments, even if we ourselves understand it fully.

A word of caution needs to be given here against the temptation to rely uncritically on new practices with which one has not become sufficiently familiar. It is better to present every new practice with the suggestion, 'Let's try it and see'. The villager then is involved in the trial and becomes the judge of the results. This approach to villagers, on any particular subject for Extension, should be the manner which is basic to all Extension work. Extension is education, but it must be education by suggestion, *not* by didactic teaching.

MEDIA FOR THE COMMUNICATION OF NEW KNOWLEDGE

We are accustomed to think that *lectures* are education, and that *films*, *dramas*, *puppet plays*, and so forth, are amusing forms of entertainment. It is difficult for us to grasp the discouraging fact that the hearer retains only very little of what is said to him in a lecture. We overlook the obvious fact that one retains a great deal of what one can *see* and *hear* and *touch*. Anyone retains even more of that which he *experiences*, particularly if his emotions, and his senses of humour and pathos, are involved. Long before anyone devised lectures as a means of education, knowledge and understanding were conveyed from one generation to another through song and ballad, drama and festival. Although some of the media we shall be describing in the following pages are new, the principles of learning upon which they are developed are as old as mankind.

As Extension uses these methods and materials to evoke a response, it is using the kind of education most closely associated with village life in India.

It is necessary to get used to some technical terms when considering methods and materials. One of the most convenient of these is the word 'medium'. In India, we speak of various languages as the 'media of instruction'; the schoolmaster's lecture, his blackboard, the student's textbook, maps and diagrams, are all 'media' through which knowledge is conveyed.

Education, as Extension understands it, must use other media to carry out its programme. There are several reasons why Extension media are different from those used in the ordinary classroom:[1]

1. Most of the village audience is illiterate. Therefore visual aids are needed to help the mind to picture the matter which is being taught. The villager cannot take notes; thus the subject must be grasped and retained immediately, or at least as the result of a repeated presentation.
2. Adults have to be attracted to come and learn. Their imagination must be fired. Extension has no schoolmaster's cane to enforce discipline.
3. Adult villagers have much less time than children in which to learn and they absorb less quickly. Furthermore, they have a great deal more to learn in the little time at their disposal.

Let us take a simple example from everyday life outside the villages, which bears particularly on the second of the above reasons. The principles which are

[1] Progressive schools, of course, are developing techniques of education based on the same principles of educational psychology which influence Extension methods. We must not think that village education and urban education are two completely different things.

raised in this example may show quickly why we have to use different media and more of them for Extension teaching than are usual in schools.

Imagine how you would tell your mother, who has never left her home in India, all the new things that you have learned in Europe or America during a year abroad. You do not only want just to tell of the new things; you also want to weaken your mother's natural resistance to the strange world she does not know. You would like her to take pleasure in your pleasure, to share your experience of the new world of the West as far as possible.

It is very much the same when you have to communicate about the new world of free choice and science to villages.

Media of Communication with Villagers. Let us outline briefly some of the terms which describe the Extension media and the methods which are part of them. Together, these enable the Extension worker to bridge the gulf between what he knows and what the villager does not.

1. *Talk:* Even if your village listeners are literate, you will not give them a written text when you can be there to talk with them. You will naturally say what you have to say, using the simplest words that you can find, and trying to find those words which represent the simplest experiences in the village world. You will not do all the talking. You will encourage questions and try to get an exchange of ideas going, especially on those points where you can see that the villagers have not fully understood what you have said.

We call this *conversation* when you are talking with a single person, even though others are present. Of course, especially in a village, they may join in, too. This is the simplest method ; it is developed, as you acquire more skill in teaching, into a guided *group-discussion* on a subject of mutual interest.

Talk, in one form or the other, is a necessary part of every medium. It is worked up into a repeatable method with all the materials which are used in Extension.

2. *Actualities :* Let us assume, however, that the subject is not one on which the villagers have enough information to permit an exchange of words. Just as you might bring souvenirs of your trip abroad to show to your mother in order that she might have a more vivid idea of life and customs in other countries, so you will bring unfamiliar objects which villagers can handle and use. A new implement—say a seed-drill—is far better understood by the villager if he has an opportunity to handle it. Similarly a discussion on contaminated water is illuminated by showing two glasses of water, one clear and the other cloudy with mud and algae. These are actual materials, or *actualities.*

3. *Visual aids :* Sometimes the new things about which you want to talk cannot be brought to the village. For example, you may want to interest villagers in a stronger breed of cattle, the nearest examples of which are hundreds of miles away.

In such instances, pictures (photographs or drawings) can be used. If the idea is more complex, like explaining the operation of a new implement, perhaps the actuality (a low-lift pump for irrigation, for example) can be brought before the group for examina-

tion, and the working of it explained by the use of cross-sectional drawings, or diagrams.[1]

Visual aids in the form of pictures or drawings can be used in a variety of ways. Posters catch the eye and convey one significant idea which can be grasped quickly ; they can convey a series of ideas when they are shown one after the other. Photographs or drawings arranged serially on a wall can also tell a step-by-step story ; put on a filmstrip they become a useful means of illustrating a talk on such a subject as foot-and-mouth disease among cattle.

Pictures which can be moved about to tell a story, the method employed in the flannelgraph, have two advantages : one is that the teacher can employ his imagination in making his story-picture fit the audience and the subject together. The second is that he can readily encourage village people to take over the story-telling and the use of the pictures or figures, and thus encourage village participation in the educational process.

We shall have more to say on this subject in the next section of this chapter.

4. *Audio Aids :* You may have brought back from your travels in the West some gramophone records to illustrate the music of a foreign country. The listener only *hears* the music ; there is nothing to catch his eye. Similarly there are aids in education which are only heard by the ear : radio, tape-recordings, and disc-recordings, and, to a less-limited extent, the public-address system so popular at *melas*.

5. *Audio-visual aids :* When sound is synchronized with pictures, as in the sound film, we are using a very

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powerful teaching medium. The best films for village use, of course, are those which are made specifically for village audiences. There are problems of expense which make it difficult to provide 'custom-made' film for every area of India, thus it is necessary to use any film with care. It is essential that the Gaon Sathi prepare his audience for a film and be on hand to interpret it. It is foolish to think that *any* film at all will suit a village audience and have educational value.

All forms of educational aids of the kind mentioned above are loosely called 'audio-visual material'. Any single form is a 'medium'; one group is specifically 'visual', another 'audio', and a few are true 'audio-visual' media. Strictly, though, no Extension medium is complete without talk in some form and at some stage; even if it be only to introduce the material to the villagers.

HOW AUDIO-VISUAL METHODS ARE DEVELOPED

The talk, the discussion, the demonstration of a new actuality, can all be rehearsed by Extension workers, with each other, first in pairs, then in groups. One man acts out his teaching part; the others play the parts of villagers, and they offer their frank criticism of the way he is using the method under trial.

What is to be said by every field-worker is thus agreed among the group, at least as a series of essential points which must be made with villagers. This outline must be memorized. There are only a few subjects, such as child-care, in which it is better for a man who has to talk on it to memorize whole phrases which

describe a sequence of actions by the mother. This is a safeguard : he can then add, 'I was repeating what I have been told. What do you think about this ?'

There may be no absolute need to use audio-visual material, especially where a demonstration of an actual implement is intended. But the Extension worker must be alert to the response he gets from his audience and learn to supplement his teaching with any audio-visual aid he can secure or devise.

It is in the developing of materials for use among villagers that the Extension worker learns to make his message more exact and more understandable. For this reason, the flannelgraph, which the Extension worker must manage for himself, is of more value in forcing the worker to examine his teaching skill than the filmstrip, which is a finished product ready-made for his use.

Villagers respond readily to the opportunity of contributing to the development of useful teaching material. This is evident as dramas are produced with village actors. The Extension worker must know something of the methods of play-producing in order to make use of this traditional part of village life. A traditional play may have new songs and spoken passages written in, to suggest, for example, that the common effort of the whole village in building a road may be based on a precept from Deity. The *Ramayana* story of the Bridge to Lanka would make a good starting-point.

Any play's script, once memorized, becomes oral material ; it can be repeated in hundreds of villages. Furthermore, visual material can be added, in scenery, actors' dress and stage-properties. Although there are

no words for villagers to read, and no pictorial material reproduced by mechanical means (printing or photography), a play handled in this way is certainly audio-visual material. It becomes a powerful form of mass communication.

ADVANTAGES OF AUDIO-VISUAL METHODS

All communication begins in the same way. At first one person talks to another. The Extension field-worker has a conversation with a villager who knows him well. The villager says that he knows of neighbours who will be interested in what they have discussed. A meeting is arranged, and the field-worker addresses the group of villagers. There is some discussion with the group ; but if it is more than a dozen or so who meet, it is not possible for everyone to say what he thinks, or even to ask questions.

If twenty field-workers in the same Extension area talk to a hundred groups in the same terms, making the same points in about the same order, the form of the message carried becomes a MASS COMMUNICATION.

With groups where there is plenty of discussion ; when what the villagers say, and the questions they ask, are recorded by the field-worker and reported by him to his Extension centre, then the mass communication is two-way.

Extension has the problem of communicating a large body of knowledge to a great many persons in a relatively short time. It has also to become a channel through which the needs and suggestions of village people can be made known to those who are in a position to give help.

The task of communication is more than spreading the word rapidly among many persons. A rumour races with amazing speed from mouth to mouth, changing its shape and content with every telling. Extension is concerned with spreading knowledge accurately and uniformly throughout an area.

Systematic field-work is new in India. Methods are still taking shape and techniques are being developed as Extension workers widen their experience. Extension must find ways to enable this constant development of technique to be shared so that the common and basic methods used in each Extension area will become surer. As the number of field-workers grows, and each has to deal with more and larger groups of villagers, a common method becomes even more necessary. Audio-visual materials make it much easier for the Extension worker to communicate with villagers ; these aids also help to pool the experience of many persons in a form which is readily understood and used by each Extension worker.

Both the form and the content of Extension methods and materials have to be regionally varied. A good field-worker combines much local, even individual, interpretation with his general method. A good deal can be learnt already from pooled experience of previous field-workers ; but still most of the detail of his technique must be worked out by each field-worker for himself.

The experience of other field-workers in this constant development of technique must be shared, so that the common and basic methods used in each Extension area will become surer. As the number of field-workers grows, and each has to deal with more and larger groups of villagers, a common method

becomes even more necessary. Audio-visual materials make it much easier for the field-worker to communicate with villagers ; but the use of these aids in Indian villages also requires further method, which has to be similarly developed.

There are certain tricks to the actual handling of posters, filmstrip and flannelgraph, besides other audio-visual media, which have been fully worked out in other countries, and which apply equally in India. These can be learnt by field-workers under training.

These, then, are some of the important advantages of audio-visual materials and methods :

1. They provide a means by which new ideas may be readily communicated to village people in terms they can understand.

2. They are a form of mass communication which pools the experience of many into a medium which conveys ideas *quickly* and *accurately* to large numbers of persons.

3. They are tools which Extension workers can be trained to use with relatively little difficulty ; and they give a village worker confidence that he can really put his message across.

4. They enable village folk to share in the development of ways which most convincingly tell the Extension story.

ABRIDGED TABLES OF MASS COMMUNICATION MEDIA

The Tables which follow, and form the remainder of this Section D, cover the complete range of media which have so far proved suitable for use in the Extension field of rural India. Only those media which

involve *repeatable* Extension methods and *reproducible* audio-visual materials are included. Thus the spontaneous composition of a poem on an Extension topic, as it might be (and has actually been) declaimed by the poet in a *mushaira*, is not considered in these tables, since it is *not* repeatable.

The tabulation is constructed according to the field-worker's primary need to consider the media: in terms of applicability to village folk in different groupings, and from the earliest approaches to informal groups.

With the foregoing general understandings, the Tables which follow should be considered as a whole. Used in this way they will help the Extension worker to choose between different methods and materials, and to form his own combinations of method and teaching aid so as to make complete media. It is not practical to select material without also choosing a method of presenting it to villagers. This makes one complete medium.

Choice is essential partly because of the cost of materials, and partly because the Extension workers' time must be economized as far as possible, by method-forming. It is not yet possible to use all the methods and materials in the Tables on any one Extension topic. The cumulative effect of using exactly the same methods and materials for communication to hundreds (or more) of villages, increases the effect in each village, by cross-communication between them.

Combinations of Media

Use of two successful and different combinations of methods and materials does not just double the effect.

If you read something in the newspaper and hear it on the radio afterwards, you are more than twice influenced. If you see and hear the same thing a third time in a newsreel, the effect on you is perhaps six times greater than if you had only seen the newspaper paragraph.

This can work either way: you may get more enthusiastic, if for example the item repeated in different media were about your favourite film-star getting married; whereas you may turn away in disgust from yet another comment on the hydrogen bomb.

It is the same with the villagers' reactions to plugging new ideas through several media. If they are interested in the new idea or practice, their response to a double communication presented through two different media will be greater than the response to two separate communications in the same medium (though it may be put in different words, with different pictures). If they do not consider the new idea or practice worth considering, the use of more than one medium will tend to put them more strongly against it.

Media grouped according to Methods of use in Villages

Every medium of Mass Communication must at least consist of a method. Materials can only form part of a complete medium; they support or develop further method. Each medium only becomes a mass communication when it has been formed into:

(1) A REPEATABLE METHOD, which field-workers can use in all the villages they serve. As such it must be possible to script the method, so as to describe:

(a) the actions of the field-worker, in an orderly sequence.

(b) the equipment or actual material which the field-worker presents as new to villagers; and how and when he presents it.

(c) what the field-worker says to the villagers, if not word-for-word, then at least by listing all the essential points he will make, in orderly sequence.

(d) an anticipation of the responses of the villagers to each stage of the presentation; whether expressed in words or in actions (the latter especially as handling of new equipment and material).

(2) REPRODUCIBLE AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIAL. This may or may not be mechanically reproduced. It may consist of Actual Material dressed up for the occasion of teaching. Method of presentation is always essential, and must be scripted as (1).

Sections I to VI in the Tables follow each other according to the usual order in which methods take definite, common shape in an Extension project. But the last Sections must also be studied from time to time, in the early days of planning communications, because later developments must be allowed for when the methods for an immediate job of communication are being formed, at the same time as suitable materials are being created for teaching aids.

The classification in the Tables is partly arbitrary. Some media from one Section could be considered as belonging to another.

For example, FILMS—IIIB—become IIIC, without synchronized sound. Talkies become Movies. Yet

SECTION I: ORAL METHODS OF COMMUNICATION

The field-worker communicates all new ideas and practices to villagers, in the first place, by talking with them. Talk, which gets set by repetition, runs through every method, including those in which Audio-Visual material is used.

A. CONVERSATIONS – with individual villagers, or in groups.

B. DISCUSSIONS – with smaller groups, especially after a Demonstration, or after showing an Audio-Visual Aid. Village-seminars.

C. ADDRESSES or LECTURES – to larger groups, with or without encouraging the audience to ask questions during field-worker's presentation.

SECTION II: DEMONSTRATIONS OF ACTUALITIES

A. USE OF NEW PRACTICE

e.g. Build and use a smokeless cooking-stove. Plough half a farmer's field with new plough.

B. CONDUCTED TOURS

e.g. To visit Irrigation Works under construction. To Co-operative Dairy's distribution centre.

Preparation of villagers is essential for both A and B, but more is needed for B. In both cases, the subsequent discussions are of the greatest value in getting the 'lessons' understood by villagers.

SECTION III: AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS FOR VILLAGE-BY-VILLAGE USE

A. *Audio only.* Speech, Music and other sounds are transmitted; no pictures.	(1) RADIO – field-worker must sometimes share villagers' listening. (2) RECORDS – (a) Disc – same as (1) (b) Tape – field-worker must be present, to work machine. (3) PUBLIC ADDRESS EQUIPMENT – (Microphone & Loudspeaker) Same as (2) (b).
B. *Audio-Visual proper.* Sound and picture together.	FILMS — either synchronized sound; or silent, with field-worker's voice. Requires electricity and a technician to operate projector.

SECTION I: ORAL METHODS OF COMMUNICATION

The field-worker communicates all new ideas and practices to villagers, in the first place, by talking with them. Talk, which gets set by repetition, runs through every method, including those in which Audio-Visual material is used.

A. CONVERSATIONS – with individual villagers, or in groups.

B. DISCUSSIONS – with smaller groups, especially after a Demonstration, or after showing an Audio-Visual Aid. Village-seminars.

C. ADDRESSES or LECTURES – to larger groups, with or without encouraging the audience to ask questions during field-worker's presentation.

SECTION II: DEMONSTRATIONS OF ACTUALITIES

A. USE OF NEW PRACTICE

e.g. Build and use a smokeless cooking-stove. Plough half a farmer's field with new plough.

B. CONDUCTED TOURS

e.g. To visit Irrigation Works under construction. To Co-operative Dairy's distribution centre.

Preparation of villagers is essential for both A and B, but more is needed for B. In both cases, the subsequent discussions are of the greatest value in getting the 'lessons' understood by villagers.

SECTION III: AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS FOR VILLAGE-BY-VILLAGE USE

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B. *Audio-Visual proper.* Sound and picture together.	FILMS — either synchronized sound; or silent, with field-worker's voice. Requires electricity and a technician to operate projector.

SECTION IV: AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS AND METHODS FOR USE WITH LARGE GATHERINGS FROM MANY VILLAGES

The more elaborate and costly materials cannot be used in every village. The following must be classed as only suitable for large gatherings.

A. EXHIBITIONS – Extension may participate by:

(1) Running a section in an Exhibition organized for other purposes, which will be visited by many villagers.

(2) Organizing its own Extension exhibition, in collaboration with villagers served by the Extension Project.

In either case, Extension designs overall layout and details of displays, besides supplying Audio-Visual Aids:

(a) Examples of improved practices in villages: crops, cattle, crafts, homes, public amenities; by photographs or models.

(b) New equipment and supplies for new practices, as far as possible in actual, working demonstrations.

e.g. A Crop Duster may be set up, with dummy crops as its 'target'. It blows powdered chalk instead of insecticides. Then villagers can turn the handle, and make it work.

Field-workers must be on exhibition-duty to give explanations of the exhibits to villagers.

B. KISANI MELAS – There may be regular *Melas* or *Urus* in the Extension Area. Extension would take part in these, at least as in A (1). Extension should, further, organize its own *melas*, primarily to promote its principle of sharing new knowledge and activities between villages. Standard methods will be devised to make programmes of events.

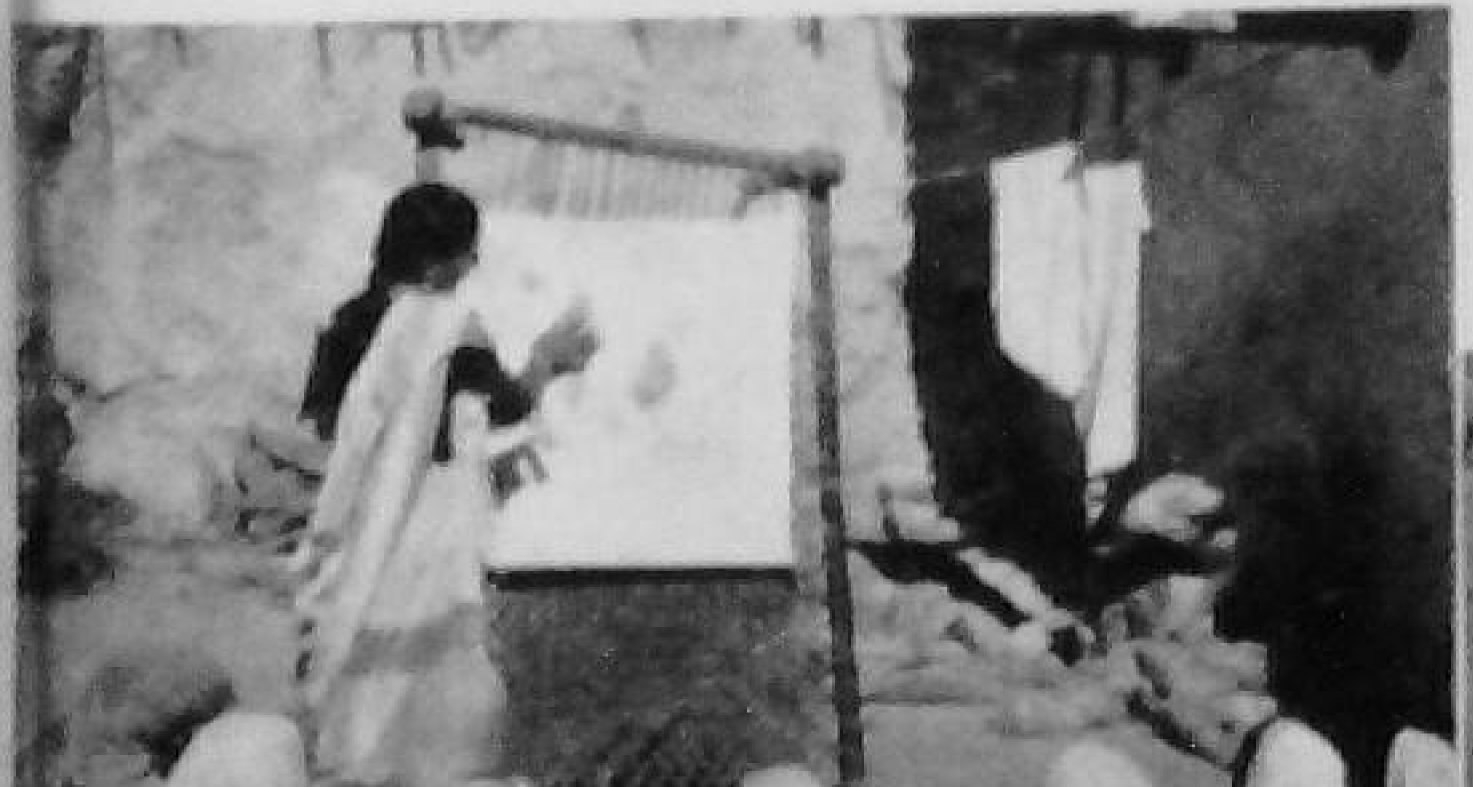
(1) Gatherings from at least 20 villages can promote friendly rivalries such as ploughing competitions, and the simpler activities from Section V. Only one or two of Section III presentations are used to promote inter-village discussions.

(2) Up to 200 villages may send visitors to a full-scale *mela*, which would include Exhibition activities, particularly demonstrations. Cattle-shows and the full range of Section V activities are also possible, in a big *mela*.

While Extension workers will entirely design and organize these new *melas* in the beginning, they must always do so in collaboration with villagers, who must contribute some funds, labour, and finally take charge of the complete organization. Extension field-workers will finally act only as the carriers of Mass Communications to and within the *mela*.

PUPPETS. This ancient Indian art has been adapted to Extension teaching.

FLANNELGRAPH. The Gaon Sathi builds up her lesson with pictures which stick on rough cloth because they are backed with glasspaper. It is for men as well as women. The teacher can put some part of the whole picture wrong, and get someone in the class to put it right.



LITERACY. Extension is discovering that the villagers of India are not ' backward '. All—men, women and children—are eager for new ideas with which to improve their lives.

SECTION V: REPEATABLE ACTIVITIES WITH ORAL MATERIAL FOR VILLAGERS

Traditional village games and entertainments should be encouraged not only for their own sake but because they can often be used to spread the Extension worker's message. Sometimes he can introduce entirely new costumes, dances or games, but usually he will be able to introduce topical allusions to some change of practice.

A. DRAMA, MUSIC, POETRY, FOLK-DANCE – Both village-by-village, and as inter-village entertainment.
   Example: Ramayana episode of building the bridge to Lanka can be used to encourage community road-building proposals.

B. BHAJANS, WORK-SONGS, PRABHAT PHERIS, SLOGANS – These may have new, Extension words written. When they catch on in one or two villages, they can spread to others, especially through *melas*.

C. ATHLETICS – GAMES, DRILL, PHYSICAL TRAINING – Such *ustadi* as wrestling and morning exercise for children introduces fresh principles of self-discipline by villagers. New skills developed in play stimulate more skilful work.

The greatest strength of these media is their capacity to go on working for Extension in the absence of the field-worker.

The above section concludes the Outward Message aspect of Mass Communications to villagers. It also provides, to a greater extent than any other group of the media, for two most important aspects of Extension:

(1) *Establishing channels for cross-communications between villages.* These must increase, and not only along marriage-custom tracks (need to go to distant villages when the *gotra* is exhausted in the nearer places).

   Obviously, something which people of different villages can share must be carried in such channels. Extension therefore provides material and activities in Section V which are repeatable, and offer opportunity for rivalry without conflict.

(2) *Stimulating villagers to rebuild or to strengthen their emotional lives.* The matter in Section V is meant to draw from and reinforce those parts of village life which give pleasure, and to enable excellence to be recognized.

   These elements are sometimes called 'cultural activities', using the word 'culture' in its narrow sense.

SECTION VI: METHODS OF ASSEMBLING VILLAGERS' RESPONSES, ON THE INWARD CHANNEL OF TWO-WAY MASS-COMMUNICATIONS

The constant exchanges between field-workers and villagers need to be recorded in a pattern which administrators at the Extension base can quickly read. Village-audience reactions to Audio-Visual Aids, to Demonstrations, to *Melas* need similar records.

A. WALL-NEWSPAPER. Combined Bulletin Board and Blackboard, to carry printed Extension materials, from Section III, and local notices. The blackboard is mainly for villagers' chalked comments (words or pictures).

B. METHODS OF RECORDING AUDIENCE-REACTIONS TO AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS. The field-worker's report is made more objective. A tape-recorder can be used to get a more sensitive impression.

C. METHODS OF PROMOTING VILLAGE TALENT. All the new ideas and practices cannot come from outside the villages. Villagers have something new to contribute to Extension. By using talented villagers, Extension increases the receptivity of all villagers.

(1) ARTISTS, SKILLED CRAFTSMEN, INVENTORS, besides talented individuals for Section V purposes.

(2) CREATIVE CHILDREN as (1), and for Section V activities. Example: Extension provides paints and brushes for children to hand-colour Flannelgraph cut-outs.

(3) ADULTS WITH NO CREATIVE TALENTS, as in (1) or Section V, can be encouraged to aid Extension by:

(a) MESSAGE CARRYING – speed and accuracy.

(b) NEWS-CRYING – with unbiassed delivery.

(c) ASSISTANCE IN DEMONSTRATIONS.

(d) PROJECTIONISTS – filmstrip (easy), film (difficult).

(e) RADIO RECEIVER SERVICING – apprenticeship.

The list is incomplete; and any field-worker will be able to add his own categories for development of Methods by villagers.

(4) VAIDS, HAKIMS AND DAIS trained to give better service where they live.

(5) SHOPKEEPERS supported by Extension to carry supplies of villagers' new needs.

16 mm. film, which is usual for village-showing, is now made with sound, and run silent through a sound-projector, if the field-worker is to speak the commentary. Many other variations are possible in presenting films.

PUPPETS—IIIc (9)—could be classed in Section IV. They must also be considered in Section VA, and VIc (1), especially since the aim is for villagers to make their own puppets and stages, and to give the complete shows.

E. KNOWING HOW AND WHEN

In the beginning of Section D, we described briefly some broad principles of the new media of communication which Extension uses to carry forward its programme. Next came the Abridged Tables of Mass Communication media, which are designed to help the Extension worker select from a complete range of methods and materials, and to form combinations of these which best suit his purposes. In the balance of this section, we shall refer frequently to these Tables. We come now to a discussion of the ways in which these teaching methods and materials may most skilfully be used.

COMMUNICATING NEW WAYS

Extension methods and materials help to put it into villagers' heads that new knowledge, new tools, new substances and new skills may be worth their examination and experimentation. However persuasive the Gaon Sathi's words may be (see Section I of the

Abridged Tables), they seldom form more than half of a medium of communication. Something which the eyes as well as the ears can appreciate is needed to complete the communication.

The need for concrete experience: Where the risk of trying out a new proposal causes villagers to hesitate, at least a concrete object must be provided which they may touch and handle as well as see. This is the reason for Section II of the Tables and for the following items included in Section III:

TAPE RECORDING: When the villagers are encouraged to record their own voices, and to hear them played back, then other recorded words seem more real and convincing to them. The further advantage gained is that villagers are made free of an elaborate technical device from the outside world, so that what was a marvel to them comes down to earth.

As an example, at a *mela* in the Jumna-par Punarnirman, we were showing for the first time a new type of water-lift, or hand-pump. It was set up so that villagers could work it, and see for themselves how easily it lifted large volumes of water for little effort. The idea was for irrigation, on a small scale. The more prosperous farmers, whom we had particularly hoped to interest, would not touch it. They smiled, nodded, looked politely interested, and passed on. It so happened that two or three of these same villagers were induced to speak into the microphone, and they heard their own voices played back to them. This provided great amusement. Soon afterwards, these same villagers went back to the water-lift and began to handle it; their long-standing prejudice against new-fangled

things in general and machinery in particular had been that much overcome by using the tape-recorder.

FLANNELGRAPH: Villager-participation is further secured by getting villagers to build up their own pictures from the cut-out elements. For instance, a new method of fertilizing tobacco plants may be visually represented on a flannelgraph ; the field-worker deliberately puts the plants too close together for healthy growth, and asks the farmers if there is anything wrong with the picture, before he begins to talk about application of fertilizer. This enables some of the audience to put the lecturer right, with obviously favourable results on the receptivity of the whole group.

WALL-STENCILS: Suppose a village has adopted a campaign to draw water from a well only for cooking and drinking, diverting all the other purposes for drawing water, including bathing, to a tank. A wall stencil might be designed to remind those going to the well of this restriction. The stencil would be designed and supplied by the Extension centre, through the Gaon Sathi, with the paint, and a spraying device; but the application of the stencilled design to the walls would be done by villagers themselves, thus intensifying its effect.

PRINTED WORD: Apart from actual literacy teaching, which is one of the Gaon Sathi's jobs (at least to start the chain of teachers), it is good for him also to use the literature prepared for the village as a reading-aloud text for illiterates. Some illiterates will thus get the idea that they, too, can have access to its facts, if they choose to learn to read. Picture books

make it possible for illiterates to carry on some way with understanding, without a literate to read for them. In any case, this printed material forms the nucleus of a village library, which the Gaon Sathi should always encourage.

THREE-DIMENSIONAL MATERIALS: These, give villagers their best opportunities of concrete experience; even in the media which require acting talent, it strengthens the communication when the actors are also village folk and known to the audience. The models can seldom be left for long in one village; they are usually needed for *melas*; or are required when a special teaching session is planned on the subject represented. Instructional Displays (see Section IIIc (12)) are intended to be left for at least a week or two in the village, after the first demonstration, so that villagers can practise with them, on their own.

PUPPET PLAYS: The stage need not be a constructed one; it can even consist of two charpoys set on their sides and made into an adequate enclosure with cloth. Puppet-heads can be made by villagers; dressing up the puppets to make costumed bodies is also village work. Even these materials will at first have to be made by Extension workers for the village shows. The script of the play also must be written by someone who knows this medium quite well; it can only be at a later stage of development that village authors will appear. The players who handle the puppets and speak the dialogue will at first have to be Extension workers.

The success of a good puppet play, clearly and imaginatively performed, makes this medium an excellent one for village audiences. A group of Gaon Sathis

in the Punarnirman has produced excellent performances, full of good humour, song, and valuable ideas. One play, designed to motivate villagers to secure inoculation against smallpox, caused a great rush to a nearby dispensary.

The aim, in a medium of this kind, should be to shift responsibility for production and performance to villagers as soon as they are ready to take over. That they can do so, even to writing a script which tells a story with an Extension message in it, is already proved in the Punarnirman, where there was no previous living tradition of puppet plays. For instance, at the Kamal Dal rally early in 1954, *Sathis* from the project headquarters were astonished to see little plays written and produced by some of the boys. No puppets were used; but the acting was of professional standards. One of these plays dealt with improved sanitation in the village; another with summer-ploughing, and a third with the smokeless *chulha*. The idea of these plays had been given from some of the project's radio playlets on these subjects. As a teaching medium, the boys' original compositions and performances were excellent.

CONTROLLED EXPERIMENTS: The principles of concrete experience which are mentioned above are expanded in Sections II and IV of the Tables. It is important to emphasize that any major changes in village practices are best introduced as controlled experiments on as full a scale as possible. Suppose, for example, it is required to show the advantages of using either *improved seed*, or *line-sowing*, or *green manure*.

Any one of the operations which the Gaon Sathi suggests is risky. The farmer may lose his labour, his

crop and his investment for seed, new implements, and so forth. It is unfair to ask him to try the new ideas throughout his land. Extension can offer to share the risk with one progressive farmer. He takes half a field to cultivate in his established manner; the field-worker, with other villagers to aid his lack of skill, takes the other half of the field. The Extension centre lends a mouldboard plough, seed-drill, and the seed for the legumes required for a green manure crop. Extension may supply the improved seed (bred grain), but at the village farmer's cost. The cost would be better shared among all the farmers of that village.

The Extension worker takes part in the cultivating operations, and sees that they are properly done. A fair apportionment of intercultivation, after the crop begins to sprout, must be given equally to both the new and the old half of the field. Finally, the crops secured in the old way and the new way must be weighed against one another. This is the full experimental demonstration which must be aimed at by Extension. No amount of lecturing, discussions or pictures, however dramatized, will give the same powerful conviction to village farmers. A good rule is: *to motivate, demonstrate.*

Farmers from other villages can come and see the demonstration while it is in progress. They will naturally be far more ready to accept the statement of their brother villagers about the results than they would ever be to recognize the statement of an Extension worker. Above all, here is an improvement which has been achieved in the village, under full village conditions, even to the skills employed.

CONDUCTED TOURS: These are another variety of 'touch and see' teaching. Previous meetings are held with the whole tour-party, where the Extension worker goes over notes about the things which they are going to see.

Whether or not there be sufficient literates in the party to follow written notes, the Extension worker discusses with the whole group :

(1) The things which everyone is expected to see and to be able to describe, with some personal evaluation, when they are back in the village after the trip.

(2) Particular objects which should interest certain members of the group, but not others; the Extension worker makes it clear that they will expect a separate account of these things from the particularly interested persons.

(3) Lastly, the Extension worker remarks that there will be many new things on the way which he cannot possibly foresee, and he expects every member of the party to keep his attention open for what especially interests him. The fact that each man has special aptitudes and knowledge may be strongly brought out here. The Extension worker says that if those who bring back an individual account cannot write, he will probably want to have their fresh impressions sound-recorded.

In this way, the villagers go out on their tour with definite objectives. Every man has something to look for; most men have at least two or three things to look for; and one of these things is each man's own special interest. The meetings in the village after they get back can crystallize much of this observation; it will stimulate the illiterates to learn reading and

writing; and it will give every member of the group an opportunity to show his quality.

AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS: Unless the villagers can be brought in as speakers or actors, and in some other capacity, there is always a tendency for purely *audio* material to become unreal to them. It is better at first *not* to run sound-films as such, but to run them silent, and have a spoken commentary.

Visual elements, especially in flat representations, are better used at first as reminders of some actual object which has been seen than as representations of new objects. It should always be remembered that villagers have to learn to 'read' (that is, to grasp the significance of) flat representations; and the nearest to life are *slide-films* in natural colours. These can be projected on a screen singly; they are too expensive to run in series of 25 to 40 pictures, like filmstrips, which are consequently nearly always made in black and white, the hardest to 'read'.

FILMSTRIPS have the advantage that each picture can be held on the screen as long as one pleases; a dull or undesirable picture can be rapidly passed, and the interesting ones can be held while villagers come up to the screen and point out what they want to ask, or what they want to tell the rest of the audience about. The Gaon Sathi's commentary on filmstrips must be prepared to make every point, but it must also be flexible; it may well have some deliberate misstatements, so that he can pause and ask villagers to put him right.

It is best if a village boy can be trained by the Gaon Sathi to operate the projector, a very simple

matter for all standard models. An elaborate, glass-beaded screen is useless for village audiences; they will always get so far to the sides of the screen that only a matt surface will give them an undistorted image. A white wall is always bad; a *dhoti* stretched over a *charpoy* is better; it costs very little to have a portable screen on four guy-ropes. With the upper pair fixed to the eaves of a hut, the projector can then be placed inside the hut; back-projection then enables an audience of 100 or more to mill around without the danger which is always present when people are on the same side of the screen as the projector. The whole equipment, of kerosene projector, screen and a half-dozen or more filmstrips, can easily be carried on the back of a cycle.

FLANNELGRAPH BOARDS present a problem which is not yet finally solved. The essential is a tightly-stretched, rough cloth which, when placed at 15° from the vertical, will hold the sandpaper on the back of the cut-out pictures. Felt or coarse white cotton *khadi* (which needs stretching occasionally) or flannelette are all excellent materials for the board. We have devised a simple stretcher-frame at Allahabad; it is easily dismantled, rolled up, and tied to the cross-bar of a cycle. It takes five minutes to re-assemble the frame, which forms a 30″ by 30″ square of stretched flannel. The largest audience which can conveniently be reached with this medium is about thirty persons.

INSTRUCTIONAL DISPLAYS are useful even when the Extension worker isn't very good at the technique to be taught. He will be lucky if he finds some villager who already knows, for example, how to

lay up rope, or whatever is depicted. Then the villager becomes the demonstrator, and the field worker drops back to the position of academic teacher. This works particularly well when sewing is taught, provided the 'class' is kept down to about a dozen.

POSTERS are in some ways the hardest of all visual materials to use effectively. They achieve very little if they are merely slapped up on a wall without explanation. Even a single poster must be correctly handled by the Extension worker while he talks to the villagers.

When a series of ideas has to be visually developed, up to a hundred or more in a daylight audience can be shown a sequence of pictures on large posters. The posters should be arranged so that they can be turned easily on rings. If this is not possible, the Gaon Sathi will have to have the posters in order, laid in a pile in front of him, with the backs outside. He can then pick up each in its turn, displaying it in exactly the same way as those previous to it. Care must be taken to avoid fumbling with posters handled in this way ; if there is confusion, or if the posters are handled upside down or out of order, the audience and the speaker will both be distracted.

FLASHCARDS nearly always get used incorrectly by Extension workers who are new to the job. They are only intended for audiences of between 10 and 50 villagers at the most, and they are not very suitable for children. The flashcard is not big enough for a group to see its details at a distance. The technique is to get the audience to sit down for a discussion on the subject ; then the flashcards (which are numbered) are handed

round in their correct order, while the Gaon Sathi tells the story they represent. Then every villager can study the details from the card in his hand.

It is far better if the field worker can get a villager to take over telling the story ; then he is free to walk round the group, to see that the cards are being passed around for inspection from hand to hand, and that everyone agrees with the description which is being given in words. It is definitely an aid to learning to stimulate an argument ; and the more the Extension worker can be shown to be in the wrong, the stronger will be his position to press home the value of free choice between a number of answers.

'CULTURE-REVIVAL' activities (see Section V of the Tables) can be stimulated by Extension workers mainly as a result of watching for an opportunity. The Gaon Sathi should keep on asking in the villages he serves just what are the spare-time pursuits of the people. He should beg to be allowed to join in the *akhara*, the *gane-bhajan* parties at night, the children's games, the occasions when the *kavi* holds forth, or when there is an inter-village *mushaira*. If the villagers say that such things have died, he should make an earnest attempt to revive them.

It will be found that music and folk-dance are neglected often because the inherited instruments have worn out, and new ones cannot be afforded. Extension, especially if it be cultivating artistes for radio, for recording or for *melas*, may well lend or even give a new *sarangi*, fresh skins for the drum-heads and the like. Drama can be supported by Extension's efforts to re-organize the professional troupes and stage

equipment, with a view to making *melas* more exciting.

The poets and singers may be helped by radio and recording contracts; and it may be possible to pay small sums for poems printed in Extension publications.

The mass-singing groups cannot be so easily encouraged by the Extension worker; they require a spontaneous sense of achievement, or at least the hope of appreciation. Given such a rising tide, he can urge the poets and the singers to try a new expression of their feelings.

The Physical Culture group definitely calls for a specialist field-worker in the Extension team, who is able to demonstrate the activities himself. The easiest line on which to start in a village is with the children; and it is usually possible to hold a session early every morning for all below the age of twelve.

Section VI of the Tables contains suggestions for stimulating expressions of village talent. The Extension worker has to promote new expressions of individual opinion and talent, in what is almost contradiction to the rituals established for hundreds of generations. It is work with newer media that will stimulate village action in this direction. The Extension worker can help, when he judges that villagers are ready to try something really new, by showing them that he expected such a development and that he is delighted.

It is very probable that the women will be the ones who are first to initiate radical changes, and to express themselves more freely; but this would mean, if we were to discuss this question adequately, that we should have to have a full chapter on work among village women. This important aspect of Extension work needs

constantly to be strengthened; indeed a book on that subject alone is needed now. We at Allahabad are learning from experience that the success of our Extension programme depends more heavily than most people had anticipated upon the response of village women.

WHERE TO HOLD MEETINGS: Extension workers must organize their village homes so that they are seen to practise what they preach. It is good if there be room for a small audience at night, either under a roof, or in an open courtyard, or perhaps under a tree.

There should never be an exclusive habit of meeting at the Gaon Sathi's place. He must find out how many factions there are in each of the villages he serves; and he must hold his meetings as far as possible in the territory of each one, by turns. Naturally every village must have its turn. The location of a single radio-receiver among several villages will always cause trouble; but it should always stay in one place for three or four months before being shifted. The only factor which should make a quick move obligatory is when one faction starts to make it quite impossible for members of the other to listen to the radio.

OBSTACLES TO THE USE OF NEW MEDIA: It is necessary to conclude this section with a note concerning the obstacles which often stand in the way of effectively using new media.

One obstacle has previously been mentioned. It is the foolish notion that any film at all, regardless of its content and technical quality, suits a village audience. An irrelevant theme, poor photography, inferior acting,

or the use of documentary films from abroad (or even from the repertory of urban film-studios in India) which are not carefully explained, have little or no value for Extension teaching. There is a temptation to 'fill up the time' with a film show, giving no thought to its content or value. A good Extension worker is concerned to use films, and other audio-visual media, as an integral and creative part of his programme.

Another obstacle is the lack of imagination which many Extension workers show in their use of these media. Since it is easier to get up and talk extempore to a group of villagers, than to give hours to practising with flannelgraphs or puppets or flashcards, some are content to follow the line of least resistance. For some it is a nuisance to have to be bothered with models, pictures, photographs, projectors, and so forth. For others, these media demand too much originality, so they are dropped or used ineffectively. It is essential in all teaching, and pre-eminently true in the use of the material we have just been discussing, that adequate preparation be given to every means of presenting new ideas, from the simplest five-minute demonstration to the most elaborate *kisani mela*.

F. FACTS ON FILE

A Gaon Sathi must make a daily record of his experiences in working with village people. Too often, however, this raises a conflict between the Gaon Sathi and his colleagues at the project's base. For the Gaon Sathi likes to consider himself a field-worker—a practical man—and he views any form of paper-work with some disdain. He likes to feel that he is the man

doing a solid job in the villages, and, as such, that he has no time for record-keeping. This desire to go ahead with field-work is admirable in itself; but an appreciation of the importance of a certain amount of record-keeping is also necessary. An objective achieved without a clear knowledge of the steps that were taken to achieve it has its own small value. But in these pioneering days, when all of us are proceeding by trial and error, it is important to learn why we succeed and why we fail. To depend upon hit-or-miss methods is to be condemned to slow development of practical precision. It is also to fail to build on experience. It is, therefore, important from the very outset to recognize the fact that records kept by the Gaon Sathis are of the utmost significance, both in themselves and as the basis for other records and analyses kept by the administrative staff at headquarters.

FIELD-RECORDING

Three points would appear to be of primary importance with respect to Gaon Sathis' records:

(1) Gaon Sathis must have a full appreciation of the importance of *truthful reporting and recording* of their experience in the village.

(2) Records to be kept by Gaon Sathis must be few and brief.

(3) Gaon Sathis should understand exactly why records are kept and how they are used in the project.

FORMS OF DAILY REPORTS

Keeping these three points in view, some time was spent during the two-week preliminary training for

Gaon Sathis of the Jumna-par Punarnirman in discussion of what would be the best method of keeping records. It was decided at that time that Gaon Sathis should use a more or less blank form for their daily activities. While this record supplied many details of valuable experience, it had several disadvantages. It was too long, and it required considerable adaptation in the process of analysis and summary by the headquarters staff. Moreover, its writing took too much of the Gaon Sathis' time. Therefore the form was modified, and for some time Gaon Sathis made use of a form which gave a summary of their daily activities with special mention of the villages visited, the time spent, and the purpose of the visit.

Further modification was found necessary in order to make the report more useful in supplying the type of information required for the evaluations that the project was set up to make. This has resulted in the use of the Gaon Sathis' Daily Report Form shown on the opposite page.

It will be noticed that separate mention is made of each villager whom the Gaon Sathi meets in connexion with a particular programme emphasis. A Gaon Sathi thus keeps a record of all his village friends whether or not they change some practice as a result of his efforts. This helps him to keep from spreading his efforts too thinly. It keeps him from losing touch with his old friends in his efforts to make new ones. Though somewhat complicated in appearance at first glance, the latest Daily Report takes but a few minutes to complete.

This report form is the basis of all records that are maintained for analysis and evaluation purposes at

JUMNA-PAR PUNARNIRMAN

GAON SATHI'S DAILY REPORT

Name: Bharat Ram

Circle: Jari

Centre: Baranagar

Date: 12 July, 1953

On tour: A E   Home on duty: ____

Village circle meeting: ____

Headquarters: ____

Leave: ____ Holiday: ____

Meeting with panchayat, Govt. or other officials: ____

M=Morning   A=Afternoon

E =Evening   D=All day

Contacts (names of villagers)	Village	Topic	Demonstration	Flashcards	Group discussion	Flannelgraph	Conversation	Poster				Reaction	Practice changed	Remarks
Madhu	B'nagar	G.M.					X					✓		
Aziz, Ismail, Sheikh Md, Yusuf	Tezia	Anti H.S.	X									✓		Aziz will take training
Pt. Ukil+	Tezia						X					O		

Special difficulties, unusual reactions, and suggestions.

\+ claims that injection is an unnatural practice

G.M. = green manuring
✓ good
O bad

H.S. = Haemorrhagic Septicaemia

Group Contact (8 or more) No. of persons	Village	Topic	Demonstration	Flashcards	Group discussion	Flannelgraph	Filmstrip	Poster	Radio			Reaction	Remarks
16 (of whom 14 Kamal Dal)	Tezia	bore-hole latrine						X	X				

Teaching Method

project headquarters. Once this is filled out, the Gaon Sathi's responsibility for record-keeping is at an end. All other evaluation records are maintained by Extension staff other than Gaon Sathis. We have steadily worked towards tabulation, so that a careful record-keeper and analyst can always find the same information in the same place.

SOME BASIC REASONS FOR RECORD-KEEPING

From the very outset, the importance of truthful, faithful and objective record-keeping has been impressed on all staff-members of the project. The point that has been emphasized has been the fact that, although we are interested in seeing targets fulfilled, what is more important to us is the faithful reporting of how and why Gaon Sathis were able to fulfil their targets or why they had to leave them unrealized. If they succeeded in reaching the targets, how did they do it ? What methods did they use ? How many times did they contact a villager to bring about a desired change ? If they failed to achieve a target, what obstacles caused this failure ?

It is to keep before Gaon Sathis the importance of reporting truthfully that the following note is pasted on the inside cover of each Gaon Sathi's report-block :

SATYEMAYO JAYETI

TRUTH ALWAYS PREVAILS

The truthful report of one's daily activities indicates a sincere effort to live by truth seeking—like Gandhiji—*Satyemayo jayeti*.

Accurate and faithful record of your experiences, the result of your work, good, bad or indifferent, is an

essential part of your work as a Gaon Sathi. Please remember that the measure of your success in the village is not to be judged only in terms of the extent to which you fulfil the targets set each season, but largely in the faithfulness with which you record village reactions to your efforts, methods adopted which led to success or failure in achieving your target, analysis of the causes of success or failure to achieve the target, and the critical evaluation of your efforts to bring about change in the village. All these go to make your report interesting, meaningful, accurate, objective, and consequently, valuable—as it should be.

Write your report clearly and concisely, in simple language, bearing in mind the fact that a good report is one that can be read and understood by the average person.

It is not possible for us to visit the villages in your charge every time you do so. Your reports can, however, bring the village close to us and to whoever reads them. Write them so that they do this.

EVALUATION

Effective teaching gives the pupils aid in the cultivation of attitudes, knowledge and skills, so that they are understood, learned, remembered and used. In his attempt to teach rural people, the Gaon Sathi is not always as effective as he might be.

The need, therefore, arises to assess how far he has succeeded in helping his village friends to move towards their objective and what has been the tempo of this movement. How far, in other words, has he succeeded in accomplishing what he set out to do? Evaluation is a way of determining what is actually accomplished. It measures the difference which the programme has made between 'what was' at the outset, and 'what is' after a certain period of working. What is basic in

evaluation is a clear definition of objectives at all levels and a careful separation of what the programme has achieved from changes which may have taken place due to other factors. The results of evaluation may be used to re-define objectives and to improve the programme.

In evaluating Extension programmes, three steps seem to be involved :

(1) to clarify the objectives so as to have a precise understanding of what is to be assessed ;
(2) to devise valid, reliable, simple and workable methods of collecting and recording data for evaluation ; and
(3) to employ methods of recording which lend themselves to mathematical analysis, where such is applicable.

The usefulness of Evaluation. There are several other questions that need to be faced in connexion with evaluating Extension programmes. The more important of these are as follows :

(1) When are the points reached at which the results of various kinds of evaluation can be dependably used in the administration of the project ?
(2) Are all changes of equal importance, or are certain changes more significant than others ?
(3) When does a change in practice become 'accepted' ? Can we measure the willingness to change, and, separately, the permanence of change ?

While realizing that there may be several opinions with regard to the answers to the question 'How is the effectiveness of an Extension programme to be

evaluated?' it is important to recognize a few basic assumptions that we have reached in the Jumna-par Punarnirman:

(a) The evaluation programme must be kept within such bounds and must be so organized that the village people remain unaware (as far as possible) that any evaluation is going on, beyond that which they can understand as being essential to their own encouragement and to the administration of such a project. The ability of village people to appreciate evaluation may increase as the project grows, but in the beginning too much evidence of surveying may prejudice them against the Extension project itself.

(b) In evaluating an Extension programme today we are trying to measure something which is quite evanescent. But what is still in a formative, fluid stage today, must evolve into a permanent Extension Service. The pattern of Extension work must change, but *no* temporary programme could get people going with such momentum that they could carry on village development without any Extension Service.

(c) Because village people are not accustomed to the kind of records involved in evaluation, the introduction of record-keeping and particularly of questioning (for surveys) should be introduced gradually rather than suddenly, at the outset, in the full-blown base-line survey.

(d) Any attitude-survey (or an inquiry similar to it) which involves questions to villagers must be performed by the 'casual-conversation, buried-question' technique.

At this stage we can do little more than mention some of the practical measurements of progress in

village development as they appear in the Jumna-par Punarnirman.

(1) The number of changed practices. This is an indicator that people are willing, and are in fact taking more individual responsibility and are making choices.

(2) Changes in the nature of objections which are raised to proposed new practices. These objections are recorded in the Punarnirman through careful reporting by Gaon Sathis in training conferences. These objections, and the frequency with which they are reported, are recorded and later those encountered in one year are compared with those met in subsequent and previous years.

(3) Differences in changes in the statistics of production and health in villages within the project area and in nearby villages outside the project area.

(4) Changes in the attitude of the people toward the Extension project and its current programme.

(5) Changes in the degree of acceptance of the Gaon Sathi as a valuable friend, companion and adviser.

(6) Changes in the type of questions asked by villagers and the complexity of these questions.

(7) Changes in levels of skill (other than changed practices) in agricultural, occupational, construction and craft activities.

While evaluation of the effectiveness of Extension programmes continues to present many problems, it is important to recognize the fact that (apart from several disadvantages involved in conducting an initial survey

of the project area for evaluation purposes) what the programme accomplishes could not be measured by a subsequent survey in the project area, even if an initial survey in the area had been made. Changes are taking place in all rural areas whether or not an Extension programme functions in those areas. Therefore, it is not correct to assume that all of the changes that take place in the area are due to the Extension programme. *What we need to measure is the difference in the direction and tempo of change (a) in project villages and (b) in surrounding villages outside the project area.* One way to do this would be by periodic, simultaneous surveys of the project villages and of those at varying distances from the project area, but adjacent to it. These surveys ought to be made at periodic intervals after the launching of the Extension project.

There may be other methods which might be employed more effectively in evaluating an Extension programme, and we shall be always alert to discuss them.

But whatever the method employed, its true test is the effectiveness of measurement. For, basically, evaluation involves a clear understanding of (i) what needs to be measured, (ii) how to go about making the measurement, and (iii) what are the outside factors which may throw the measurement out of line. However, it must be recognized that there is no system of measurement which can accurately measure and evaluate all of the factors in a process of development by Extension. Systems of measurement now applicable to Extension can greatly add to our understanding and help guide the shape and direction of Extension programmes, but they cannot do more than

provide us with approximate measurements of the factors involved.

G. DO'S AND DONT'S

We have throughout the foregoing chapters introduced, referred to and emphasized certain basic principles and methods that underlie effective Extension work. Those principles we consider essential not only to enable the Extension worker himself to function efficiently, but also for the smooth running of the programme as a whole. For because of what he is, and because of his job in the field, among people who are his friends and companions, there are certain things that he must do and some things he cannot do if his work is to be satisfactory. An attempt is made in this section of the book to list the more significant of these working principles and re-emphasize their importance.

It must be realized that in varying situations, it is not always possible to apply all of these principles or methods.

PROFESSIONAL GUIDE TO ALL EXTENSION WORKERS

1. **DO keep village appointments.** Except in cases of emergency, appointments made with village people must have priority over other appointments. When village appointments cannot be kept the Extension worker must inform the villagers concerned of the change, and failing this he must explain as soon as possible what prevented him from keeping his appointment.

2. **DON'T use any kind of compulsion.** The Extension worker's job is educational. Through a process of education he brings about changes in attitudes, knowledge and skills. Force and compulsion have no place in this process.

3. **DO keep out of factions.** It is not the part of the Extension worker to take sides, join, give allegiance to any party or get involved in local village politics. He must however be alive to village politics and take them into consideration in carrying out his activities.

4. **DON'T talk politics of any kind. DO commend politicians in power and officials.** Don't give your own opinion on any political question, even a Government policy or official action. Meet question with question. If you cannot honestly commend, try to explain, and be constructively critical.

5. **DO admit ignorance.** An Extension worker realizes that he does not know all the answers and never hesitates to say, 'I do not know, but I will help you to find out'.

6. **DON'T correct a colleague before villagers.** Any visitor assigned to you—and even more your brother-workers in Extension—may be wrong, and you may know it. Tell them so afterwards, not in front of villagers.

7. **DO urge villagers to demand service from other agencies.** The Extension worker works through existing organizations, supply and service

agencies, using their familiar framework to carry out his activities. He is careful to strengthen these agencies, supplementing them only when necessary and then but temporarily, until more permanent agencies, not dependent on him, are built up. He teaches village people to make full use of what is already there, and so his activities are promoted through *panchayats*; and full use is made of local leadership (formal and informal), of Government seed-stores, of dispensaries, hospitals, veterinary surgeons, stockmen, schools, public-health facilities, local shopkeepers and others.

8. **DON'T try to solve villagers' problems for them.** The Extension worker believes that it is village people who will solve their own problems, and he helps them to learn how to liberate their rich resources and strengths to solve these problems, so as to develop their lives. For village people are not to be weakened by having their problems solved for them, but rather they are to be strengthened by being brought to full realization of the resources that lie at their command. Village folk must learn the proper use of these resources.

9. **DO insist that villagers make plans and also help carry them out.** The Extension worker bases his programme of activities on the existing situation. As he views this situation, he takes stock of those things that can be an asset to village development, and of those that are definitely on the debit side. Having done this, he determines the felt needs of the people, fixes objectives in collaboration with them, and draws up plans for action. Both in planning and in

executing the action programme, he aims at villagers sharing the work as much as they can and will.

10. **DON'T value what you find by the standards you are used to.** The Extension worker must allow for flexibility to cope with variations in conditions, habits, customs, even basic philosophies of life.

11. **DO be humble with village folk and love them.** Basic as the motivating force behind the activities of an Extension worker, is his genuine love for people and the desire to learn to help them. In his approach, he starts with people and a genuine love for people, and this love carries him through the planning and execution of the programme to the ultimate goal, which again is people—healthier, happier people who share a richer, more wholesome and satisfying home and community life.

12. **DO offer the advantages of Extension to all groups in the village.** The village community consists of various groups that run along caste, creed, locality and other lines. While these groups are to be respected, understood and appreciated, discrimination or special favours shown to any particular group on the basis of that group's identity have no part in the programme and are opposed to the Extension worker's aims and purposes. Work with all classes, castes, conditions—not with a chosen few.

GETTING STARTED IN A VILLAGE

The following tactics are suggested to the Extension worker as effective confidence-builders (on both

sides) in his approach to and work among village people :

1. **DO say who you are and why you have come.** Identify yourself and the purpose of your visit to the village. Be frank and truthful about this. Do not be vague or try to evade questions.

2. **DON'T talk about any benefits to the village.** Do not start out by talking about plans and programmes, or make promises for the supply of needed commodities. Too many people have done this in the past and it may identify you with those who have merely talked and never followed-up with action or fulfilment of promises made.

3. **DO look and listen.** Be a good listener. Do not ask too many questions. Listen, observe, study and learn. The villager will do the talking—you have much to learn.

4. **DON'T be either formal or, at first, effusive.** Be informal but be careful not to overdo this. In your role at the outset as an outsider, you are expected to behave in a particular way. Play your role, and it will gradually merge into that of an accepted and trusted friend. Make your visits informal. Meet villagers in the fields if they are there, or in the cattle-shed, at the threshing-floor, at the forge. At the outset you will have to go out to them. Later, when you are an accepted friend, the tide will turn and they will come to you. In being informal, do not be in too much of a hurry to lend a hand in any work that is going on. A certain amount of reserve is respected by village people.

5. **DO join in friendly village gossip.** Learn to gossip with villagers. Talk to them about happenings in other villages. Bring into your conversation familiar names, places, occasions, happenings. Answer their questions about other places in a way that they can understand, as far as you are able to do so.

6. **DON'T get irritated by villagers' curiosity.** You are a live piece of news and fun to any village at first. You are their substitute for cinema, newspaper, coffee-house. Bear it : take the staring and giggling ; answer the silly questions as well as the wise ones. Let them have their fun with you ; they deserve it, and perhaps you do, too.

7. **DO explore your motives before you give advice in a village.** In your approach to the village, remember that the problem is not how you are going to get the village to accept you ; that is always easy. The hard part is how you are going to get yourself to accept the village. The very first step in Extension work is a frank, objective examination of his own motives, attitudes, by the Extension worker himself. Be sure that you have taken this first step satisfactorily, before you turn your attention to village people and their problems.

8. **DON'T pretend to have interests that are not your own.** Villagers are very perceptive. They will detect your insincerity quickly. Out of much casual contact you will find common interests which are real, with many persons. Make full use of these to demonstrate your best side.

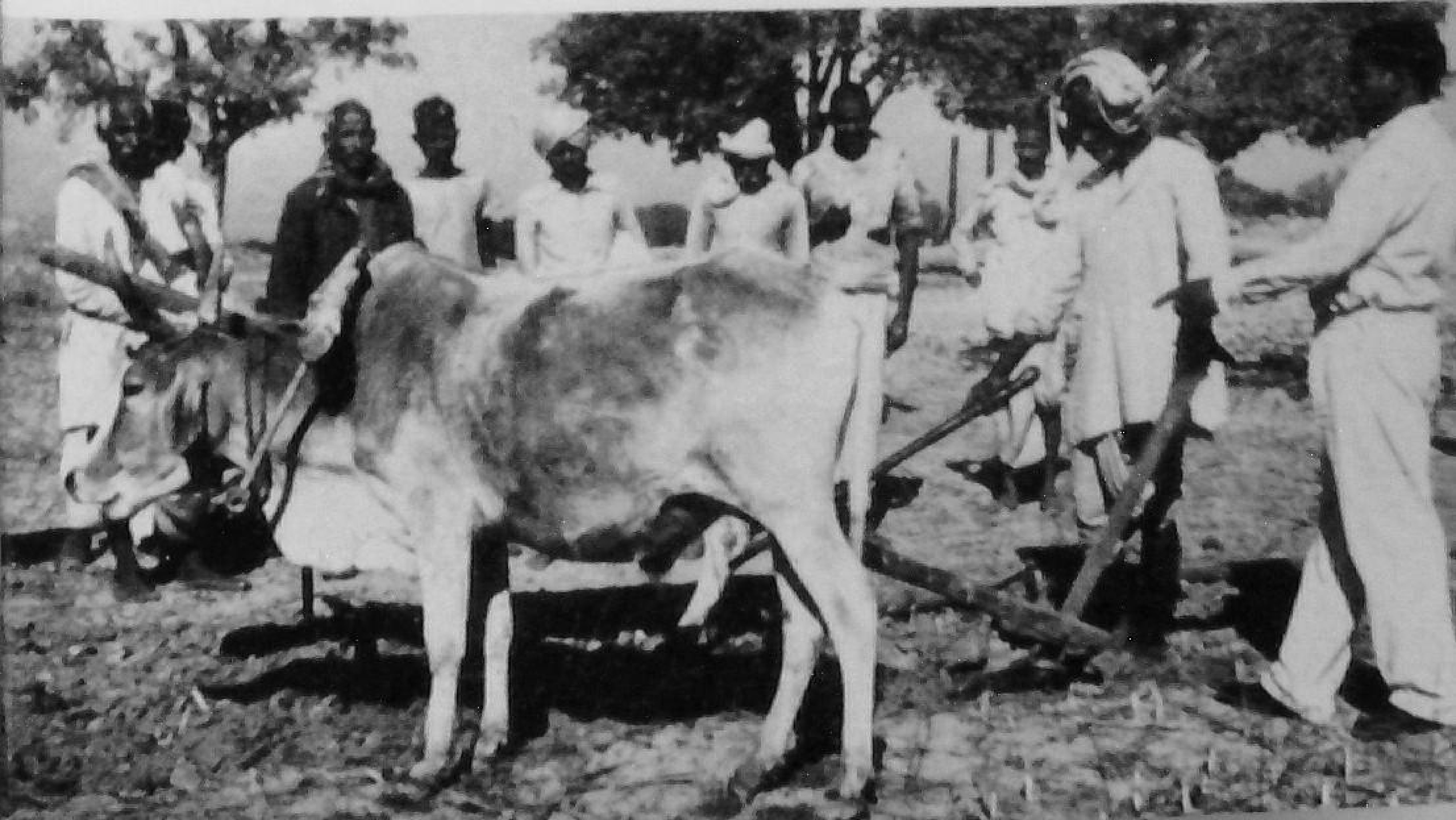
9. **DO look for similarities—DON'T look for differences.** There is much talk of Indian villagers being a people whom time has forgotten, and there are many other labels attached to them which may well make the Extension worker feel that he is going exploring among strange tribespeople. You should discount most of this story of 'they are different'; it will slow you up in making friends. Actually, it is astonishing how many of the 'civilized' patterns of the educated world of the cities have their prototypes in Indian villages. You will see many of your own customs and interests among the village folk, though in a purer, if cruder form. Look for these many points in common; build your companionship with the villagers upon them.

10. **DON'T attempt to talk in the local *dehati* till you do it well.** Talk in the village dialect only if you are sure that you have full command of it. Nothing sounds as bad to a villager as *dehati* incorrectly spoken. It does the speaker no credit whatever, but instead sets him back in village opinion. If at all doubtful about the correct use of the village dialect, use simple Hindustani.

11. **DO learn to remember every villager as a person.** Develop a good memory for names and faces. The sweetest word in a person's vocabulary is the sound of his own name. If you have met a villager before and do not recall his name, wait until after he has gone and then casually ask some other villager the name you have forgotten. You can apologize for this, too!

DEMONSTRATION. Extension shows things working. Soak-pits are new (*left*). If the Gaon Sathi were to make one for a villager, instead of just showing him how to do it, then other villagers would not try to make one for themselves.

The Gaon Sathi demonstrates such new things as a modern way of castrating a bull—or a new type of plough. The villagers will soon do much better than their Gaon Sathi with the new ways or the new tools. This unfamiliar but pleasant sense of superiority encourages village people to learn.



'FELT NEEDS'. The boys and younger men built this village-school with their own hands. It all began from discussions raised by the Gaon Sathi.

Villagers manned all but the doctors' services at this Eye Clinic. Government surgeons operated until far into the night, in a village house, cleared and cleaned for the purpose. Extension formed the link between the villagers and the official Health Service.

12. **DON'T ever give anything free except your services.** Do not attempt to 'win over' by giving free gifts. In fact, make no free gift at all. Our village people have too long been spoon-fed and consequently weakened. Always make it clear that things can be made available, only if village people are willing to put forth the effort and/or the money. If they are really keen to have something, they will be willing to pay or work for it. In supplying anything to the villager, make it available at a rate at which he can get it again, preferably from a more permanent source. Make no concessions on your own. Let Government or a similar agency give subsidies and the like. The small pledges of affection which pass between intimate friends in India are of course not 'gifts' for the purposes of this paragraph.

13. **DO greet every villager you know—and do it everywhere.** Make it a point to greet village friends wherever you meet them, particularly when this occurs outside the village. Whenever possible, stop off for a wayside visit. These wayside meetings are important and greatly appreciated, and never more than when they happen in a town. They go far to convince the villager that you are genuinely interested in him as an individual—whether he is in his natural setting or outside it. It will also prove to the villager that you are not ashamed to own him as a friend in the presence of others, particularly your friends who may be better off than he because they live in the city.

14. **DON'T tie yourself only to a few good friends.** Move around in the village—from house to

house. There is a great temptation to stick to one or two families and forget the rest, because it means going through the often difficult process of making friends and winning confidence. In visiting different families in the village do not forget to keep renewing your old contacts. This is time-consuming, but it will discourage petty jealousies among villagers and promote a feeling of general goodwill. You can thus bring villagers closer together by your presence, and you will not split them up into conflicting groups.

15. **DO record all your visits to your assigned villagers.** Keep a faithful record of each village trip—even if this is not required of you by the project. For this record of your successes, mistakes, steps that led up to success or failure, is of vital importance in guiding your future activities. You will find it easier to make these records immediately after you return from the village, while the visit is still fresh in your mind.

16. **DON'T start anything without finishing it.** Follow-up every talk, discussion, programme that may have been started in the village. Without this follow-up, the programme will not last and will be just something else started in the village that was never seen through. This follow-up is as important as the programme itself. Do not start anything that you cannot follow-up. Do not create a demand for something that cannot be fulfilled. First be sure of the supply, then create the demand. If you are unlucky enough to start a demand which cannot be satisfied, confess your mistake to the villagers and end it that

way. Learn to co-ordinate your activities so as to give the desired result.

17. **DO show your concern for women and children.** Do not ignore the women and children in the village. They must be included in the programme. One sign of your acceptance as a new person in the village society is that the women begin to talk to you freely.

18. **DON'T let it seem that all the new ideas are yours.** Local people must be looked upon as contributors of ideas. If a person has an idea and receives recognition for it he will work harder for it. Getting people to think for themselves and present their ideas is important. If you have to introduce new ideas into a group, first talk privately with an unconsidered member of it, so that he brings the idea into the group conversation as his own. If you can find a person who does not ordinarily talk much, he will be your best channel.

19. **DON'T aim too high at first.** Start with the simplest felt need and fulfil it. This builds up confidence in your capacities. Allowance will be made by the people themselves should you fail in some of your activities at a later stage, if at first you have worked on simple needs, and they were met to villagers' satisfaction.

20. **DO be 'the man behind the scenes'.** Always be the man behind the scenes, encouraging the villagers to take the initiative. Remember that the only change

really worth while is the change which comes from the people themselves. Give advice, information, suggestion, guidance, but let the people move the programme forward. Let it be their programme—their plan—their project. Be loth to push yourself forward—fight shy of the limelight. Let the people go forward and make the choices. Extension is to teach people to be free.

VIII. *JACK-OF-ALL-TRADES—AND MASTER OF ONE*

THERE was a saying in England years ago: 'To teach John Latin, it is necessary not only to know Latin, but also to know John.'

This states a truth which can be applied to Extension as well. The Extension worker, in addition to mastering the tools and methods of Extension, must have at least an acquaintance with two kinds of background knowledge:

(1) Knowledge of the scientific facts underlying the new practices which he is recommending to village people.

(2) Knowledge of what is going on, under the surface, in the minds of village people and village society.

He can begin his work with a little knowledge of each, but he will never reach the point where he knows too much. This means that he must continue his study and his search for deeper understanding as long as he is in Extension work. Let us consider these two kinds of knowledge more carefully:

(1) *Knowledge of the scientific facts underlying recommended practices.*

There is a very great dependence of Extension work on the subject-matter of the agricultural, the home, and the medical sciences. Historically, the application of the word 'Extension' to the kind of programmes we are discussing in this book grew out of this fact. As was pointed out at the beginning of Chapter I,

Extension grew partly out of the effort to relate the research and teaching of agricultural and home economics colleges in North America to the practical needs of farmers and their families in their fields and homes. There would be no possibility of an Extension programme were it not for the bodies of knowledge built up in the fields of agronomy, animal husbandry, nutrition, child care, and the other sciences. First there must be something to extend before an Extension service can be undertaken.

The 'improved practices' which Gaon Sathis commend to rural people are the products of scientific research. The science of agronomy is not just a careful description of how crops grow. It is a constant search for better crops and better methods. It is the building of new varieties, the testing of various soil treatments, the searching for better controls of diseases and of crop pests. The end-product of research in agronomy is new practices which can increase production.

The new practices which are the end-products of the process of research become the raw materials for the process of Extension. That is why a Gaon Sathi needs to understand them. He often will not tell a farmer all he knows about the research behind the uses of nitrate fertilizer on a particular crop, but will translate what he knows into statements which the farmer will understand. He may not explain the 'nitrogen cycle' very often but he needs to understand it. The same is true of innumerable facts in the fields of horticulture, animal husbandry, farm management, agricultural engineering, and a host of other specializations.

Value of scientific knowledge. There are three reasons for the importance to the Gaon Sathi of having this background knowledge :

(a) It gives him confidence in the value of what he is telling village people, and enables him to explain and to defend his suggestions. If he understands the chemistry of crop growth and the processes of agricultural research, he can be more accurate in his talks with farmers. If he knows how an improved practice was developed, he will be much more sure of its value than if he suspects it is just some official's pet theory.

(b) It helps him to understand that scientific agriculture is not a new set of customs to replace the old, but a new attitude toward agriculture, involving continuously changing practices and repeated substitution of new methods for old. That which is an 'improved' practice today will be the old practice of tomorrow. That which is the best we know today will be improved by what research discovers tomorrow.

(c) It shows him the close co-operation which must be maintained between Extension and research. From research, Extension gets its raw material of improved practices. From Extension, research should get its cue as to the problems of village farmers which urgently need to be investigated and studied. In the early days of Extension in India, we felt that research had discovered all the answers ; we only lacked application of this knowledge in the field. Now we realize that unless research pertinent to immediate Extension needs is speeded up we may soon run out of anything to 'extend'. Extension is not a new age, replacing an age of research. Rather, Extension is a new activity which greatly intensifies the need for more and more research.

This need for knowledge of the scientific facts underlying improved practices is the reason why a background of university preparation in agriculture may be good preliminary training for all Extension workers. But even for agricultural graduates, constant study of these subjects—and of many others which are not today included in university curricula—is a life-long obligation for all Extension workers.

It should not be overlooked in the stress laid by this chapter upon agriculture and its specialized sciences that exactly the same considerations govern the home and medical sciences, and engineering, too. What is to be extended to villagers from these sciences can only be simplified versions of the total knowledge, whether it be in agriculture, health or engineering. But the last two are no less important to villagers than agriculture.

The Gaon Sathi must also understand the importance of a balanced diet and know why unprotected water is a menace to health. Unless he does, he is likely to become perfunctory in his efforts to teach villagers about the benefits of clean water or better diet. In the Punarnirman, we have seen Gaon Sathis rather glibly show villagers flashcards on fly-control and yet do nothing to destroy flies in their own houses.

(2) *Knowledge of what is going on, under the surface, in the minds of rural people and in village organization.*

This is not the place to try to outline how much has been discovered about this subject by the sciences of psychology, sociology, anthropology and educational theory. But while biologists have been studying plants, insects, and soil organisms, other scientists have been

delving into the human mind and learning something of how it works. They have been learning much about the interactions between our thinking and our feelings. Others have been investigating the relationships between groups of people in a village. Still others have been studying the whole pattern of life of a people (anthropologists, for example, are learning how a change in a cultivation practice affects, and is affected by religious beliefs, and ideas of social prestige, and many other factors). Actually very little research has been done in these fields in India as yet. As Extension grows, there will be a greater demand for the kind of studies which sharpen our knowledge of village people. When these studies are made, we shall be in a much better position to understand the village and the ways in which Extension can contribute to the progress of village life.

The captain of a ship has to know not only his ship and the destination he wants to reach. He must also understand ocean currents, and tides, and the wind systems of the world. All of these are powerful forces which can help him on his way, or can wreck his ship. The Gaon Sathi needs to understand not only his own programme and his objectives, but the currents of thought in the minds of the people with whom he lives and works. He needs to understand the *motives* of men : why certain people take to new ideas more rapidly than others, why certain people seek to take the lead, and why certain other people hesitate. Light is thrown on many such questions by the knowledge accumulated by the social sciences.

Some of these human forces the Gaon Sathi can see at work around him, just as the captain of a ship

can feel the wind, knowing how strong or weak it is, and the direction from which it comes. Others of these forces the Gaon Sathi cannot see (they are deep in people's minds), just as a captain in mid-ocean cannot see the currents of the sea but only knows he is being swept off his course or is making unaccountably rapid progress.

Knowing that much has been discovered about tides and currents and winds, no captain will venture out without providing himself with that knowledge nor without continuously studying it. Sometimes by choosing what looks like a longer route he can speed his arrival by getting into a current which will hurry him along. He will also know what forces cannot be avoided but must be met head-on, and he will be consoled in his slow progress by knowledge of the power of his adversary. He can also predict whether a strong wind is a storm which will soon blow itself out, or is likely to be a steady foe for many days ahead.

Similarly, the Gaon Sathi, aware of how much is and how very much more is yet to be known about the behaviour of people, will see that this kind of knowledge is essential to him. He will recognize that what seems like stubbornness can be traced to understandable causes. He will realize that undependability has its deep roots. He will know that there are dependable currents in village life which can carry people ahead rapidly, and he can look for them, confident that they can be found. He will recognize that some of his obstacles are like hidden rocks which he had better avoid rather than try to drive the ship of his programme straight across them. He will understand the human forces which he can utilize and those with which he

must contend. This kind of knowledge is the field of study of psychology, sociology, anthropology and, based on them, of educational theory. Unfortunately, our scientific knowledge of people in India is negligible compared with our scientific knowledge of plants, animals and soils. But what we have is important to Extension. We should study it constantly. And we should urge social scientists to work much faster in order more nearly to meet the needs of this country in their field of study.

With such a range of background knowledge related to Extension programmes, it is obvious that no one will ever be able to master all of it, or to keep it in mind if he did. It is fortunate, therefore, that the most important characteristic of a Gaon Sathi is not what he knows but what faith he has in the people of the villages and in his own programme, and what mastery he has of the use of good teaching methods and materials. These are the things of first importance. But, over and above these, the more each Extension worker can have a full background knowledge about improved practices and about people, the better he can do his work.

This is another strong reason for in-service training. We can begin by knowing very little. We shall never know too much. All of us need to be encouraged by a programme which demands a period of study every two or three weeks, to keep for ever at the task of becoming better and better acquainted with the background knowledge related to our profession.

CONCLUSION

THE CHALLENGE OF EXTENSION

Two facts about our world have tremendous significance for the future of Extension in India :

(1) The world cannot endure half hungry and half well-fed.

(2) A global revolution is bringing about radical changes in traditional patterns of living all over the world.

We conclude this book on Extension methods in India with a brief consideration of these two facts.

(1) *The world cannot endure half hungry and half well-fed :* For more than two and a half centuries the gulf between the standard of living in the countries of the East and those of the West has been rapidly widening. The Industrial Revolution and the tremendous advances in the agricultural, the technical and the medical sciences have lightened men's burdens, produced food surpluses, provided increased comfort, and lengthened the span of life in Western countries. The peoples of the countries of Asia, on the other hand, have continued to toil laboriously with primitive implements, facing the constant threat of starvation, enjoying few comforts, suffering the ravages of disease, and dying at a rate which would not be tolerated in other parts of the world.

The contrast between the impoverished life of Asia and the standards of living in countries of Western Europe and North America has been sharpened and

made to seem intolerable because, in the past, some Western countries were able to dominate the Orient. The contrast became an affront whenever it was justified on the false grounds of racial superiority and self-deceiving notions about the 'white man's burden'. Today, far-sighted statesmen of both East and West recognize that humanity has a common interest in the welfare of each man, woman and child, which makes the elimination of these vast inequalities the concern of everyone. Colonialism is fighting its last battles, and ultimately it cannot prevail against the will of the peoples of Asia for freedom and independence. Men of goodwill in the West are as eager to see colonialism go as are the people of the Orient.

Furthermore, there is widespread recognition of the fact that hunger, disease, and the exploitation of human labour are the breeding-grounds of ferment and social unrest. There can be no secure peace for any country, particularly now in the face of the development of weapons which threaten the extermination of civilization, until these basic causes of turmoil, with their fruits of bitterness and suspicion, are rooted out.

The gulf between the East and West is not to be closed by charitable donations of food and medicines from more fortunate countries. The real task is the practical application of Western scientific discovery in the fields of agriculture, health and engineering, to the problems of Asia. There have been, and still are, pessimists who regard the rapid increase in world population as the insurmountable obstacle. There never will be, they insist, enough food grown to feed the millions upon millions of new mouths which are added to the population of the world annually at an

ever accelerating rate. Yet, every day in laboratories, experimental stations, universities and hospitals, new discoveries open up immeasurable possibilities for human welfare and happiness. There is every reason to believe that ultimately there need be no reason for famines and ravaging epidemics anywhere in the world.

The sad fact is, however, that while the West has raced along the road of scientific discovery, the countries of Asia have moved slowly behind. In the United States, when a farmer buys a new plough part of the purchase price goes into research and experiment which produce better and cheaper ploughs. In India, every anna which the farmer pays for a new plough, apart from the actual cost of materials, is absorbed in feeding the family of the man who made it. Nothing is spent on research. No new types of plough are produced. And so the gulf widens. The wealth of the West increases its wealth ; the poverty of Asia increases its poverty.

Somehow or other, the widening of this gulf must cease and the process be reversed. No good will come from feeling sorry for ourselves, or charging our difficulties to circumstances beyond our control. There will be no benefit from envying the good fortune of others, or blaming India's slow progress upon foreigners who dominated this country for two centuries and more. There is no fundamental reason why, in our own way, we cannot apply the discoveries of the West to the problems of the East.

The significant thing for Extension is this : *Extension has the means to close the gap.* We are not proclaiming a miracle. We are not making extravagant claims for this field of service. We are recognizing that in so

far as the reversal of the negative trend depends upon making the resources of both Western and Asian science available to the Indian villager in ways which he can understand and use, *Extension can do that job.* Throughout this book we have tried to guard against giving the impression that Extension is a panacea. The task of rural development demands many helpers in many different fields of endeavour. There must be research and experiment in India ; what is being done now must be multiplied many times. Natural resources and schemes for irrigation and cheap sources of power must be developed far beyond what has been accomplished so far. To produce the tools and machines for India's needs, industries must grow. Their growth demands also that their markets are stimulated. These are among the nation-building enterprises which lie beyond the capacities of Extension.

Ultimately, however, the progress of India will depend upon the man in the field. He is the source of India's wealth. It will be out of his savings that the great sums of money needed for India's development will largely come. He will be the greatest consumer of industry's products. It will be the Indian villager, in the final analysis, who will solve his own problems. The universities and the laboratories of India do not have to be convinced of the value of research. But pure research can have little value until it is applied to the practical problems of mankind. This book has been written with the confidence that Extension can and will be the channel through which this will happen.

The Indian villager has a significant contribution to make to the future of India, and to the future of the world. He is not a passive listener patiently waiting

for someone to tell him what to do, or a helpless creature who expects that someone else will solve his problems for him. Throughout our discussion, we have emphasized that there are qualities in Indian villagers and resources in village life which make it important for Extension to be a two-way channel of communication. What we need is a true partnership between the man in the field and the man in the city. No society is stable which reduces the status of any section of it; the tendency to regard the townsman as the really creative force because he controls wealth or builds machinery is a subtle and vicious destroyer of the partnership of which we speak. Extension can reverse this tendency and demonstrate the vitality of the mutual relationship among all members of society.

It is important that we sense the urgency of the task which Extension has to perform. There is wisdom in the age-old Indian tendency to say '*Dekha jaega*' —'Wait and see'. Impatience for quick results leads an Extension worker astray, and tempts him to use the very methods which in time destroy the effectiveness of his work. Indeed we must 'wait and see' whether certain attitudes are changed and whether new ideas and practices really take root in the village. However, we do not have long decades in which to solve the chronic problems of village life. The patient rural folk of India will not for very much longer be content to live on the edge of insecurity under the constant threat of famine. They are awakening to the realization that they have the right to a better life, as they are subjected to an incessant demand for support from political parties of every persuasion. This brings

us to the second of the two facts which have significance for the future of Extension in India :

(2) *A global revolution is bringing about radical changes in traditional patterns of living all over the world :* In the paragraphs above we were concerned with the physical aspects of men's basic needs and confident that modern science is able to satisfy them. We must not deceive ourselves, however, by thinking that the problems of mankind will all be solved when people have enough food to eat or enough clothes to wear, or when everyone can enjoy normal health and comfortable living. The search for human welfare involves considerations which go far deeper than increased crop production and the conquest of disease.

When Jesus Christ said, 'Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God', He sounded a truth which is part of India's spiritual heritage. In a variety of forms and practices, the Indian villager holds fast to the fundamental recognition that he is dependent upon God, Who is greater than he is. No understanding of village life can have value if it does not seek to interpret the influence of religion which is woven in the entire fabric of Indian life.

Is there any activity in which the villager engages, any social relationship or question of personal behaviour and choice, for which he does not, consciously or unconsciously, seek religious sanction ? Can the intricate framework of village society and the pervasive demands of custom be explained apart from religion ? No programme of rural development can have much relevance to Indian conditions if it proceeds on the facile assumption that the introduction of a new

technique here and a new method there will move India's village people creatively forward.

The revolution which is gathering momentum in Asia is guided by men who understand that their appeal must be to the whole life of people. But no revolution can begin without first disturbing old, established patterns of living, without disrupting cherished economic and social prejudices.

So the question which must be asked and answered is not, 'Will Village India change ?' It is rather, 'Can the changes which are bound to come to Village India be channelled for good, so that the deepest values of village life may be preserved ?'

Any changes which are introduced into village life are bound to create some conflict for some villager. The farmer's wife who bitterly opposed the thinning out of young plants did so because she thought it wicked to destroy life so wantonly. The constant talk about the evils of casteism among the highest circles of Government is reflected in a growing uneasiness among conservative groups who sense a danger to the cohesiveness of their society. Changes are not in themselves an unmixed blessing if they create as many problems as they solve. Indian villagers are justified in their suspicion of a Western technocracy which has made atomic warfare possible. Those Indians who know the West well understand that for all its remarkable achievements and its admirable qualities, the West has deep problems of anxiety and social conflict which, if they have not been created by the advent of science and achievement of a more dynamic kind of social structure than is known in India, have at least been complicated by them.

So the question faces us: 'Can the changes which are affecting Village India be channelled for good?' We have tried to answer that question throughout this book as we have expressed the conviction that *Extension is a means of releasing the creative resources of the human spirit for good.*

We know this is true because we have seen in the Jumna-par Punarnirman what happens to village people when:

(a) faith and confidence are placed in them;
(b) they are given the opportunity to examine new ideas for themselves and the freedom to make their own choices;
(c) they share in the development and carry responsibility for programmes which effect their own welfare.

We have paid tribute to Gandhiji for his influence upon village people, whom he loved and understood as few men can. We need constantly to remind ourselves, in Extension, that the rural folk of India responded to him because he succeeded in quickening their spirit. This must be the paramount concern of all Extension programmes: the release of the spirit of people into the kind of freedom which enables them not only to accept change, but to accept change critically in ways which allow them to preserve their own essential integrity. The Gaon Sathi is the village companion; the word *companion* originally meant 'one who eats bread with another'. Extension, then, shares in the common life of the village. It works for nothing less than a transformation in village life which is the fruit of seed planted deep and nurtured wisely in the soil of India itself.

APPENDIX

JUMNA-PAR PUNARNIRMAN

DISPATCH NO. 3

ISSUED[1] AT THE KHARIF HARVEST, 1952

PRE-SELECTION TRAINING OF GAON SATHIS

THE following account of the way in which the Gaon Sathis were selected and engaged, after a somewhat gruelling test, is supplied in some detail particularly for the interest of other projects of the same nature. It is possible that an exchange of experiences in the methods of selecting the people who have to live and work in the villages might result in a better and more universally applicable method of recruitment being devised for North India as a whole. Such a single method might even prove the most satisfactory on an all-India scale.

An advertisement was released in the classified columns of those papers circulating in North India which are normally referred to by people seeking employment. On a single appearance of this advertisement almost 800 applications were received. Naturally, when we came to send out forms, according to our promise in the advertisement to the applicants, some of them were weeded out as being quite below standard on their first response. Others who returned the forms

[1] Written after the experience of the first pre-selection batch of candidates.

did so in such a way as to weed themselves out. There remained, however, a considerable bulk of more or less tabulated information to go through, so that we could pick the 80 best, on their paper record, for the pre-selection training. A few local and personal recommendations were also taken into account. Above all, we were looking for people familiar with this corner of the Gangetic plain, and, other things being equal, our choice would naturally fall on those resident in the country districts adjacent to Allahabad, especially since such applicants would be sure to speak the local *dehati* dialect.

It should be made clear that all our transactions with villagers will be oral and we can only rely upon the written or printed word to a very small extent. But whether the word be oral, written or printed, we must keep strictly within the actual language current in the Jumna-par area. No compromises with social-school brands of Hindi or the miscellaneous workable variants of Hindustani will serve our purpose. If, therefore, those whom we take on as Gaon Sathis are not already thoroughly fluent in the Allahabadi-Dehati dialect, they will have to learn.

WHY 'PRE-SELECTION TRAINING' INSTEAD OF JUST INTERVIEWS?

The paper record of an applicant for such a job is never fully satisfactory. It cannot be, because the kind of person who is thoroughly at home in a *dehati* dialect is very unlikely to be able to handle English or even written, scholarly Hindi so as to express on paper the fine shades of his qualifications and his general attitude towards village work. It is, further, our experience that

candidates for such jobs are in such a state of nervousness, over-anxious about their prospects, and generally present such a false appearance of 'best behaviour' at a first encounter with a prospective employer, that a mere interview is a thoroughly artificial affair and quite misleading on both sides. After all, our view is that the prospective Gaon Sathi is taking our measure just as much as we are taking his (or hers) !

It may be noted that we have been, rather vainly, hoping to get young women on this scheme ; but even as the helpers of their husbands, we have found very few coming forward. We are still hoping ; and we may think of better inducements as a result of studying our almost complete failure to recruit women on this first drive.

Since we knew that interviews would be hopeless, we worked out a programme of five days' practical testing and discussions, most of which was of a character to give some useful training to those candidates who should prove themselves suitable as Gaon Sathis. We can say truthfully that the five-day acquaintanceship ripened in the majority of the candidates' cases into the beginnings of a friendship. Even those who were finally turned down admitted, most of them, that they had learnt a great deal in the five days and that they had enjoyed the experience, notwithstanding the fact that the work was pretty hard-going, with the thermometer up to 110° F., and plenty of outdoor activities, some of which were deliberately fixed for the middle of the day.

As a point of warning, which may help to guide people in other projects who are interested in our recruitment methods, we may remark that the six

experienced people who undertook to be with the candidates and to observe their reactions throughout the five days were themselves pretty well exhausted by the effort. One of them, admittedly the oldest of the experienced men, was, in fact, knocked out by sunstroke! It is probable that the pace set was a little too intensive for the time of the year.

DETAILS OF THE FIVE-DAY PROGRAMME

Without going into every hour of the days during which the candidates were under training and observation, the following will give an idea of what they were expected to do. It may be pointed out here that, although there was a general attempt to obtain people with some experience in agriculture, there was no absolute insistence upon technical qualifications; though, of course, we were favourably inclined towards those with a B.Sc. degree in Agriculture. Naturally, there were a number of candidates who were graduates of this Institute. In point of fact, we were looking much more for character, and a particularly human approach to village people and their problems; and we were, therefore, not so insistent on academic qualifications.

VARIATION IN CAPACITIES OF GAON SATHIS

For example, the Gaon Sathis finally taken on include several men who are quite unable to speak or understand English. At the other end of the scale are men who are best able to express themselves in English, but who also write (as well as speak) very clear Hindi, with a large vocabulary. Our reaction to the very wide and varied range of attainments presented—not only linguistic—has been the only one

possible at this stage ; to start those candidates who have less real knowledge to offer at lower salaries than those who have more to offer. This is only fair, especially as it so works out that the people with the higher real (not paper) qualifications are, in fact, accustomed to a higher standard of living, whereas those with the lower real qualifications—several of them first-class human beings—will be happy with almost half the cash allowances which represent the needs of our top-class Gaon Sathis. We can expect a wider scope of work from the better-paid men ; the lower-paid will only be asked to cover a narrower range of subjects ; or maybe to work in less meticulous detail. We have scope for a very wide range of types among our staff, especially because of our ultimate objective of setting up a detailed curriculum for training in village Extension work. In any case, peasant-type or zamindar-type, all the candidates had to go through the same five days' grind. Of the 80 to whom invitations were sent, only 60 turned up. This was about what had been expected.

SELF-SELECTION OF CANDIDATES

Of the 60 who turned up, 6 dropped out when it was clear to them, from preliminary discussions, what they were in for during the following five days. We were relieved to see them go !

There were a few more who were frankly unable to stay the course, and who dropped out during the training period ; but for those we have every sympathy and we really believe it was kinder that they should realize their incapacity before settling in to attempt village work. There is no getting over the fact that it

is going to be hard work. This is the most important reason of our training period; to prove that the persons engaged as Gaon Sathis really can take it; and that they remain smiling, cheerful, in fact real village-companions, despite all the tough conditions of living and working which the job must entail. During the five days, the following programme was followed:

Introduction and Grouping: We began by introducing ourselves and trying to extract from the unnatural 'candidate manner' some kind of an introduction to himself from each of the candidates. This was at a public session for a batch of about 30. On getting their own picture of themselves from the candidates (always better in person than on paper), we were then able to divide each batch into 5 groups, corresponding to the number of experienced men available to lead them through the programme.

Tour of the Institute: We next took the groups around to see both the farm and the indoor departments of the Institute.

Learning New Skills: The rest of the first morning was spent by each group being shown something likely to be useful in a village, and which required both intelligence and manual dexterity to grasp and to reproduce. Every group had to replace the back-wheel of a cycle, on finding it dismantled, with its chain off the sprockets. Otherwise, each group had a different farm or workshop technique to acquire: something quite simple like dismantling and reassembling an ordinary mouldboard plough, with a wooden beam, as designed for village use.

Transfer of New Skills: In the afternoon of the first day, each man was confronted with a village-type of

person to whom he had to show the skill which he had had to learn in the morning (not reassembling the cycle back-wheel) and to prove, to the satisfaction of the superior of his group, that he was able to get the villager to do the same thing, by using the proper kind of approach.

Looking for social graces: In the evening of the first day, we had an hour's film show, at which three films were shown, only one of which was slightly instructional. It was of interest to observe the candidates' response to a mainly social occasion; but in fact we got no natural reactions till the fourth evening, as described below.

Endurance and Observation Tests: On two of the following days, half of the candidates were supplied with bicycles and the other half walked, about 15 and 8 miles respectively, visiting a few villages, at as fast a speed as the supervisors could themselves manage. It should be recorded that this performance was mercifully arranged soon after dawn with the aim of getting back by 11 a.m. There was no work for the rest of the morning.

Dirty Work: In the afternoon of these days, two really dirty jobs were arranged for the candidates. They were provided with the necessary implements and materials, shown roughly how to do the job by professionals, and then faced with making a compost heap, and with cleaning a cattleshed. These activities were deliberately arranged from 2 to 4 p.m. in the extreme heat of the day; and were separately carried out by each of the five groups, working as teams. It is most heartening to note that nobody shirked the dirty work just because it was dirty. Naturally we had

our proportion of persons who dislike physical effort; but nobody showed any revulsion to handling the manure heap or to the muck of a cattleshed. In no metaphorical sense, they all took their shoes off and got down to it.

Adaptation to village life: On the third evening, the candidates were dropped off within a mile or less of an indicated village. Each man went out alone; and his assignment was to introduce himself to the village, to stay there overnight; and to come back early next day with a report on the conditions of the village in the broadest terms, and also of his reception by the villagers, in more intimate terms. The candidates did pretty well at this.

With their return on the fourth morning, when they were picked up by motor transport at the same point at which they were dropped, soon after dawn, the tribulations of field-work were over for the men under pre-selection training.

Indoctrination and probing the mental attitudes of candidates: The fourth day was given to an indoor examination of the possibilities of co-operative work between the Institute staff and the candidates.

We must here repeat something which we have tried to make clear at greater length in Dispatch No. 2 and to which we have also referred in Dispatch No. 1. These two documents describe the scope of this Project as we saw it during the first six months of operation. They are cyclostyled. Copies may be obtained from Production Division, Extension Project, Agricultural Institute, P.O., Allahabad.

It is not possible to attribute the total conception of this project, with all its ramifications, to one person. But, as has always been the case with such schemes, the broad concept grew at first largely in the mind of one man. He was, naturally enough, the Principal of this Institute ; but it is probable that his previous and personal experience of a year's residence in a village contributed largely to the original idea of developing a fresh pattern of Extension work. His first sketch of the Jumna-par Pilot Project was set out in 1947. After that first formulation, discussions with the many people around the Institute who have been engaged in Extension work on a small scale, and with people who have done similar village work in other parts of India, have gradually woven a fabric of composite ideas directed towards developing fresh methods of working with villagers. It has gradually become clearer, from a consensus of experience and opinion, that the particular aspects of village life and work which are capable of improvement cannot be predetermined.

The present, still tentative, form of the project in detail is clearly the product of many minds. The man who first conceived the project has always been the nerve-centre and clearing-house of the growing body of thinking on the subject ; and he was, therefore, the correct person to enter into a general discussion with the candidates at this stage. Most of the fourth morning, then, was devoted to a series of three organized discussion-groups which broadly covered the ground indicated by the three following headings :

What is this Project?
How can this Project operate?
What can we hope to achieve?

Each of these three headings was allotted an hour's discussion. The candidates were formed into groups corresponding with their varying knowledge of English, with, at the other end of the scale, one or more men with no grasp of English whatever. As far as possible, the variants of Hindustani were distributed evenly among the groups. This distribution enabled the addresses and discussions to proceed in a mixture of Hindi and English, with great freedom of expression.

In each hour's discussion, the work began by each candidate writing down his ideas in response to the general question to be answered. The man of experience then took over and gave an outline of his views on the question ; but in such a way as to leave every point open, and without drawing any final conclusion, as would be the case with a simple lecture. After each such statement covering one stage in the response to the question, the groups of candidates discussed among themselves the views which had just been expressed. The discussion within the candidates' groups was, of course, almost entirely in Hindi or Hindustani. At the end of its discussion on each point, each group put up a spokesman. He then expressed the conclusions which his group had reached on the point just discussed. The spokesman also gave his group's interpretation of the voice of experience on the same point.

In this way, three points could be covered by a class of thirty or so within an hour. Each point was treated successively by statement, discussion and spokesmen's exposition, followed by a summary of all views expressed. This summing-up was by the experienced man controlling the class. At this stage, between five and ten minutes were left, in which each of the

candidates had to write up, underneath the record of his original views which he had made before any discussion was opened, his personal conclusions on the whole discussion as it had taken place. It is believed that this method, which approximates to that which is pursued in a seminar of experienced people, represents a new approach to class-room training.

Message-carrying: To break up the monotony of a whole morning's discussions, a test of one rather useful ability was carried out on each candidate separately. Each man was given an oral message to carry to another part of the Institute. By previous arrangement with the recipient of the message, a similarly standardized reply was returned by the candidate to his group supervisor. No writing was allowed. It was quite surprising to see how inaccurate some of the most intelligent candidates were in carrying the message both ways.

Evaluating Village Experience: It was not considered desirable for each candidate to make a written report of his overnight stay in a village. Instead, the most experienced of our Extension workers conducted a discussion in which each candidate was encouraged to give an account of what had happened to him and what he thought about the conditions of that village. It is worth remarking that the inhibitions of the candidates were most thoroughly shed during this discussion. Few of them found the overnight stay easy; many of them had stories with quite a laugh in them; and the exchange of experiences as between one candidate and another seemed to be particularly valuable.

'Gane Bhajana': After sunset on the same day, following a certain amount of organizing and rehearsing

which had gone on every evening except that devoted to the village trip, the candidates put on an hour's entertainment. On the very first day, at the film show, they had been asked to look for talent, and one man was picked out as the producer of the show.

We were not expecting any high professional order of entertainment. What we hoped for was that some would be able to sing a little, others to compose or recite poetry, others to act, some to dance; and we were amply rewarded. Both the five-day batches of candidates put on an excellent performance. Those that had no particular talent to offer made up the audience, and it was arranged that there should be no applause; only the kind of quiet congratulations which are best exchanged when gathering for the light refreshments served after the show.

In both batches some quite notable talent was in fact presented; quite enough to encourage us in the belief that the Gaon Sathis will be able to play as well as to work in the villages where they live. We are not aiming at forcing anyone out of his normal bent; but we know we shall get quicker results by way of friendship with the villagers if a certain amount of entertainment can be worked up naturally by some of the Gaon Sathis.

Final Interviews: The fifth day was devoted to a Board interview with each of the candidates. The Board was made up of the supervisors of the groups during the field-work.

It was an unquestionable and encouraging fact that, by the time he came to his interview, each candidate was in a condition to speak up boldly and as among equals; with no fear of misinterpretation or of

prejudicing his chances. Those of us who formed the Board felt that we were getting down to the real nature of each candidate who was worth considering as a Gaon Sathi. At that stage of breaking down the artificial barriers, the final interviews were most revealing.

This completes the account of the five-day period, which was repeated so as to cover all the candidates who accepted the invitations.

From the original 800 applicants, 80 had been invited; 60 came for pre-selection training; 54 went through the whole five days, and out of the 54 half, 27, were finally engaged as Gaon Sathis. We feel pretty sure that those who have been taken on will prove themselves within the three months' probationary period. Better still, we feel that they are going to enjoy the work, each one of them, and that they will form a real team with us on the job.

EVIDENCE. The pictures above show the results of a crop experiment. When a respected, elder farmer tells his neighbours: 'I saw it with my own eyes . . . crops standing twice the height!' his enthusiasm carries much more conviction than anything the Gaon Sathi could say.

Such ancient rites as that in which crops are sown by families gain new assurance from Extension. The man in the field will still drive his plough, while his wife beside him sows the grain. Both of them now know that the rest of the world is using its resources to help them live and work with greater satisfaction. The centuries of village-isolation have ended.

REVISION QUESTIONS

Chapter 1

1. What are the problems of rural India with which Extension must deal? Are some of these peculiar to India?

2. Is it true that the 'backwardness' of Indian villagers has been exaggerated? If so, why has it been exaggerated?

3. Are village people now ripe for change? If so, why? What obstacles still exist?

Chapter 2

1. How does Extension education differ from education in the usual traditional use of the term?

2. Why is it true that village adults learn most from activities related to their livelihood, their homes, and to their interests in drama and recreation?

Chapter 3

1. Why is it necessary for the Extension worker to remain completely non-partisan in relation to village, state and national politics? Does this Extension principle influence the Extension worker's duties and interests as a citizen of India?

2. If an Extension programme assumes responsibility for supplying materials and services, credit or formal educational facilities like schools in the village, what problems are created?

Chapter 4

1. What are the grounds for the Extension principle which holds that village people have resources within

themselves to solve their own problems? If it is a sound principle, why have people heretofore failed to advance?

2. How can a sense of mutual respect and trust be developed among all members of an Extension staff?

Chapter 5

1. What are the essential qualifications for a good Extension worker?

2. What is the full meaning of the statement, 'The Extension worker must understand people'?

3. What is meant by the idea that Extension is 'compassion in action'?

Chapter 6, *Section A*

1. What is your opinion of the Gaon Sathi's Creed (p. 54)? What changes and improvements can you suggest? What is the purpose for such a creed?

2. Some people think that the Extension worker must never admit his ignorance on any subject because he may lose the confidence of village people. What is your opinion?

Chapter 6, *Section B*

1. Why is the method of selecting Extension workers so important?

2. Can you suggest improvements on the method of selection used in the Jumna-par Punarnirman?

Chapter 6, *Section C*

1. What are the advantages of the In-service Training programme outlined in this section?

2. Village workers need to come together frequently for mutual discussion of their field problems. What benefits derive from this practice?

Chapter 6, *Section D*

1. The development of democracy depends upon the ability of people to make decisions for themselves. In what ways do some forms of administration hinder this aspect of democratic growth?
2. How can the administrator carry out his responsibilities without 'bossing' the rest of the staff?
3. What objections are raised to the Extension principle which maintains that Extension workers must be given freedom to do their work without interference from the administration?
4. What are the advantages of the administrative practices outlined in this section? What are their defects?

Chapter 6, *Section E*

1. What are the reasons why an Extension programme must be flexible? What difficulties may arise from a practical application of this principle?
2. 'Extension must move with the approval and co-operation of rural people yet it must also march ahead of them.' Is this a contradictory statement? In what ways can an Extension programme do both?
3. Why are many village schemes and projects never completed? How can an Extension worker deal with this failure in his programme?
4. (a) Is there any contradiction between the Extension principle which maintains that the Extension worker should be free to develop a flexible programme,

and the practice of setting targets? (b) How can the Extension worker avoid the error of striving only to achieve numerical 'results' and yet reach his targets?

Chapter 6, Section F

1. Describe one service (which may be a supply of a needed item) which could be developed by drawing on realized village resources. Show how it could be done.

Chapter 7, Section A

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of working with selected individuals?
2. Why should the Extension worker work with the family as a strategic group?
3. In what ways can Extension help the whole village by giving special attention to village craftsmen and specialists?

Chapter 7, Section B

1. How is a good group discussion carried on? What should result from a good group discussion?

Chapter 7, Section C

1. How does Extension break down static, traditional methods and develop freedom and initiative among village people?
2. In what ways can the Extension worker use the help of unpaid associates? What problems is this practice likely to create?

Chapter 7, Section D

1. Discuss the reasons why 'seeing is believing'.
2. What, in your opinion, is the most effective of all audio-visual media? Why?

3. What contribution can audio-visual methods make to the Extension programme?

Chapter 7, Section E

1. What are some common errors in teaching with these audio-visual aids: films, filmstrips, flannelgraph, wall stencils, puppet plays, posters and flashcards?
2. What are the special advantages of each of the above media? Give examples of their use to show how one medium (or a combination of several) can be used more effectively in one situation than in others.
3. What particular values do the following methods offer to the Extension worker: demonstration, controlled-experiment and conducted tour?

Chapter 7, Section F

1. What do you think is the value of record-keeping? What are the dangers?

Chapter 7, Section G

1. Can you add to any of the items in this section? If you would drop any, give your reason.

Chapter 8

1. Why is it essential for the Extension worker to have an adequate understanding of the scientific facts underlying the new practices he is introducing to village people?
2. How can an Extension worker deepen his understanding of what is going on, under the surface, in the minds of rural people?

Chapter headed 'Conclusion'

1. What is the 'global revolution which is bringing about radical changes in traditional patterns of living all over the world'?
2. What reasons account for the vast differences in living standards between East and West?
3. How can Extension reverse the negative trend towards a deepening poverty in the East, which has for so long run parallel to increasing wealth in the West?
4. Why can Extension claim to give creative direction to the changes which are inevitably taking place in rural India?

GLOSSARY

AKHARA The gymnasium of Northern India, where the young men show off their physical points and prowess.

BHAJAN A traditional folk-song of devotional content. It is often sung community-wise with the major part performed by a skilled singer, and a repetitive refrain only by the participants.

BIDI Small, conical cigarette, the tobacco in which is more powdered than stranded, and the outer cover of which is a leaf, tied with a loop of thread.

BODHISATVA 'A Buddha in his early stages'—one who is both a precursor of and a candidate for the divine perfection of full enlightenment in the Buddhist sense of a living witness to the ephemeral nature of the living world.

BURNING-GHAT A place where Hindus cremate their dead. A *ghat* is primarily a river-bank or landing-place, but it has come to mean any means of negotiating a slope.

CHARPOY A cot, roughly made of a wooden frame on four short legs. The frame is laced with coarse string in the Jumna-par area. In other parts of India, heavy cotton tapes may be used as lacing.

CHULHA A cooking-stove, often simply three stones to support a vessel. Any more elaborate structure for cooking purposes is also called a *chulha*.

DAI The village midwife.

DAL A pulse (like peas). *Moong* is only one variety of this invaluable legume species. *Dal* is the sole source of protein in the diet of most Indian villagers.

DEHATI 'Of the village.' In this context, as a noun, it means the dialect local to that village where the work goes on.

DHARMA-YOGI One whose dedication is to his duty. *Dharma* means what each person makes of his individual *karma* or destiny. A *yogi* is one who seeks union with the Divine Principle.

DHOTI The seamless lower garment of the Hindu male in many parts of India, worn in a variety of styles.

GANE-BHAJAN A community assembly for music—not only *bhajans*. There may even be a sort of variety show.

GAON SAMAJ A committee (composed of all members of the *gaon sabha*, or village council) responsible for management of land within their village jurisdiction.

GAON SATHI Literally, a village companion. It can be used for a man or a woman ; as applied in the Allahabad Project, it means the Extension field-worker who makes his (or her) home in a village. *Gram Sevak* (for a man) and *Sevika* (for a woman) are official equivalents elsewhere.

GOTRA A kinship group within which intermarriage is not permitted. Corresponds to 'forbidden degrees' of relationship for marriage in the West.

GRAM SEVAK and SEVIKA See GAON SATHI.

HAKIM A medical practitioner of the Muslim persuasion corresponding to the *vaid*. Elements of Greek and Arab medicine replace some of the principles of the *vaid* in his practice.

HAMAR GAON Name of village newspaper in Jumna-par. It means 'Our Village'.

HARIJAN Term devised by Gandhiji for the outcastes of Hindu society—the so-called 'untouchables'.

JALSA A social function or gathering.

JOWAR One of the major bread-grain crops of Northern India. It is a sorghum, allied to sugar-cane, and yields plentiful, if coarse, flour.

KANUNGO Village-accountant responsible for tax accounts.

KAVI Poet, usually a topical versifier who improvises on the affairs of the day in the village.

KHADI Handspun handwoven cotton cloth of great range in qualities, from fine to coarse.

KHARIF The crops (or season of the crop) which are sown at the onset of the principal rains of the year. In Northern India, harvesting the *kharif* is the autumn task, closing the traditional calendar, before the festivals of *Dassera* and *Diwali.*

KISAN A peasant, especially a farmer.

KISANI MELA Farmers' fair.

LEKHPAL Village record-keeper responsible for vital statistics, land-ownership records, list of eligible voters, etc.

LOHAR Blacksmith—but the village kind has four tools only, if he be unprogressive.

MELA A villagers' assembly, a country fair. Often a *mela* has a religious objective ; usually it is held on a religious occasion, even though its object be exchange of cattle or other goods, or the hire of labour.

MOONG A pulse used commonly in India as a major source of protein in daily food, especially by poorer people in Northern India.

MUKHIA Village headman, mostly used of the traditional social style in which the office of *mukhia* is mainly hereditary. A *mukhia* will be of the dominant caste in the village (see *yajaman*).

MUSHAIRA A convocation of poets, at which each one is supposed to extemporize, often on a theme developed by previous poets who have declaimed in the meeting. The word is Urdu; its Hindi equivalent is now worked out as *Kavi Sammelan*—*kavi* being a poet.

NAIB TEHSILDAR Deputy to the *tehsildar*—one appointed to act in his place, or sometimes as his immediate subordinate in a large *tehsil.*

NETA A leader; or one who inspires and organizes a group of other persons.

NULLAH A watercourse, dry in the hot weather, filled with a stream in the rains.

PANCHAYAT Council of villagers, having administrative and legal powers to an extent which varies considerably. Originally panchayats were supposed to be of five persons, approved by an open assembly of the whole village.

PRABHAT PHERIS Wandering songs or processional songs, usually moralistic and exhortatory. They are traditionally sung at dawn by small groups of reformist persons.

PRATIYA RAKSHA DAL Volunteer military force in Territorial Army.

PUNARNIRMAN Reconstruction (a Sanskrit word). It has a sense of re-birth or self-renewal.

PURANAS Strictly speaking, the 18 epic poems of the Hindu people. By villagers, loosely used to mean the accepted body of religious and historical tradition. The word literally means 'ancient (wisdom)'. For village folk, the Puranas roughly correspond to 'the Scriptures' as an authority among Christians.

RABI The crops (or season of the crop) which is sown after the principal rains of the year. In Northern India, harvesting the *rabi* is the last cold-weather operation.

RAMAYANA Indian epic of the god-king Rama and his exile and victory in Lanka (Ceylon).

SAMMELAN One of a number of terms signifying different kinds of assembly within Indian social patterns. The *sammelan* is more *ad hoc* and informal than a *sabha* or *samiti*.

SANAI Indian hemp, a common fibre crop, from which rope is made. (A good green-manure crop.)

SANNYAS Vows of religion, in the ascetic direction. A *sannyasi* rejects possessions and other attachments

to worldly life. The completeness of such rejection varies, but the object is the same—to free the one who takes the vows for a greater concentration on worship and realization of divinity.

SARANGI Multi-stringed instrument, with resonator, which is bowed like a violin. Wood and skin form the body ; strings are gut and wire. It is mainly played by Muslim experts.

SARPANCH Principal man of the *panchayat* or village council. With the new structure of legal powers for the *panchayat* imposed on villages since independence, the *sarpanch* takes on a new importance, and a more broadly political character.

SATHI Companion, one who 'goes along with' people or a programme of activity.

SEVA SAMITI Literally 'Service Committee'. The principle of unpaid service is as important as *shramdan* in the cheap financing of the Five Year Plans for India.

SHRAMDAN Gift of labour—a supposedly popular method of getting heavy work done free by groups of people. It is considered an economical means of providing some of the essential, unskilled labour to implement the Five Year Plans.

TEHSIL Alternatively *taluka* in other parts of India. Corresponds roughly to a county, but is administratively less important, though it may be as large in area and even larger in population.

TEHSILDAR The Chief Administrative Officer of a *tehsil*, mainly responsible to the Government which employs him through the Collector of the District and for the collection of land-revenue. His duties have enormously increased in number and variety since independence.

URUS Muslim occasion of pilgrimage (not the Haj to Mecca), or assembly with a religious purpose—usually a saint's (*pir*'s) day. Corresponds roughly to a *mela*.

USTAD Exponent of any professional skill. He is usually a teacher. The term is used particularly for masters of physical techniques, including musical performance.

USTADI Skilled performance of any kind.

VAID (or VAIDYA) The practitioner of *ayurveda*, the traditional medical system of India (see HAKIM).

YAJAMAN Caste-head in a village. Where there are several castes, each will be represented by one man, as a sort of spokesman *vis-à-vis* other groups and as a permanent chairman within that caste group. The *yajaman* system of caste-representation has remained in effect in South India to a much greater extent. In the North, the trend has been towards a replacement of the office by the *purohit* or the principal authority among the Brahmins of the village.

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